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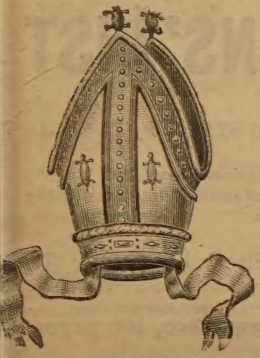

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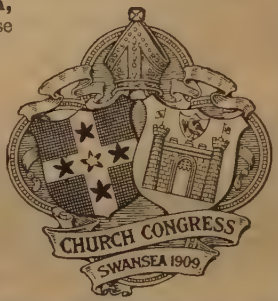

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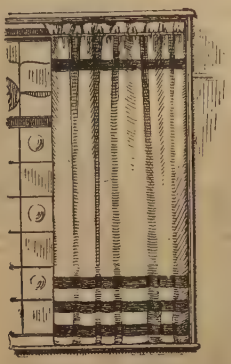

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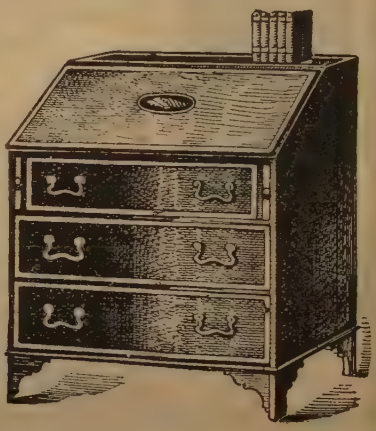

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THE

CHURCH QUARTERLY REVIEW.

Nº CXXXVI. *JULY* 1909.

ART. I.—THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA AND THE NATIVE QUESTION.

1. *The State: The Organ of Closer Union. A South African National Magazine.* (Capetown: Printed for the Proprietors by the *Cape Times*. 1909).
2. *Address delivered by Lord Selborne before the Congregation of the University of the Cape of Good Hope,* February 27, 1909. (Pretoria: Government Printing Office.)
3. *The South African Natives: Their Progress and Present Condition.* Edited by the South African Native Races Committee. (London: John Murray. 1908.)
4. *Leaven: A Black and White Story.* By DOUGLAS BLACKBURN. (London: Alston Rivers. 1908.)

AT Bloemfontein on May 11, 1909, the dough, of which the ingredients had taken eight months to knead, was put into the national oven in the hope that, when baked, it would come out a fragrant loaf of home-made bread, fit for the consumption of all the children of South Africa. This homely metaphor is borrowed from the High Commissioner's farewell speech to the delegates of the Convention who were entrusted with the magnificent task of shaping a new nation, and most of whom are at this moment here in England hoping to see their great work crowned with success in the Imperial Parliament.

The Closer Union of South Africa may, we trust, be now considered an 'assured fact,' in the absence of unfore-

seen and extraordinary hindrances. It must, of course, be sanctioned by Parliament and by the King ; but it does not owe its existence to Downing Street. The idea was conceived fifty years ago, and was born, developed and matured in South Africa. ' The loaf is home-made,' of wheat grown entirely on the fertile plains of Africa. From that achievement it draws its flavour, while its strangeness consists in the circumstances among which it has been shaped. General Botha not long ago said publicly that without the war there could not have been a *rapprochement* between Boer and Briton, and that the union of the South African Colonies would have been out of the question. ' Out of the strong came forth sweetness.'

How do the inhabitants of South Africa view the proposal ? The white population seem slowly to have awakened to the conception that a great historic movement was beginning and that they must all take their part in it. During the last summer (our winter months here in England) ' Closer Union ' societies were rapidly formed in many of the villages and towns of the four Colonies of the Transvaal, Orange River, the Cape, and Natal. Members of the four Governments and of the Opposition in each case, the mayors and municipal councillors of leading towns, Africanders, Colonists, Het Volk, Britons and Boers travelled from place to place, holding meetings, explaining the Draft Constitution, and winning adherents to the cause in every direction. The brilliant group of Oxford men, brought out by Lord Milner as his henchmen during his Governorship, were incessantly strenuous, and rendered magnificent service by their enthusiastic propagandist campaign.

In the last month of 1908 a new magazine, entitled ' *The State : The Organ of Closer Union,*' and printed in English and Dutch, made its appearance under their editorship. The interest which had been aroused in the cause was shewn on February 12, when a ' Special Constitution Issue,' devoted to an analysis of the Draft Constitution and to explanations of Proportional Representation, was brought out. All the copies of the magazine were sold in a day or two. Besides *The State* a large number of pamphlets

were published in South Africa, dealing with the question of the necessity of union and suggesting the lines on which it should be built. Popular articles and letters in the newspapers and speakers at innumerable meetings took their share in spreading information through the four Colonies. The objections of Boer Bond critics in Cape Colony, of Labour Party critics in the Transvaal, or of British critics in Natal, were answered in fervent addresses by General Botha, Dr. Jameson, General Smuts, Sir George Farrar, Mr. Lionel Curteis, and many other devoted campaigners. The men who eight years before were fighting against one another in the Boer War now fought side by side for the great cause of a United South Africa. 'Closer Union' has already brought about a union of hearts among the delegates, between men who had interchanged mutual respect as foes, but who now rejoice in proclaiming their mutual admiration as friends.

If the foreshadowing of Closer Union has accomplished so much, what may we not hope that the Union itself will be able to do? That it may weld Britons, Boers, Africanders and Natives into one united Nation should be the prayer of every patriotic Englishman at this time.

Do we at all realize what the greatness of such a Nation will be? Consider the actual size of the country[1]: a vast sub-continent ten times larger than Great Britain, stretching over 1,214,338 square miles, inconceivably rich in pastoral, agricultural and mineral wealth. Its great mountain ranges, vast veldt and little towns are at present sparsely inhabited by a population numbering 7,964,427, one-fifth of the population of overcrowded Great Britain. Consider also the variety of races of which the new Nation will be composed: men of English, Scottish and German blood; Boers descended from Dutch peasants and French Huguenots; Coloured People, the offspring of past generations of slave-owners and Hottentot slaves; Malays, who came over

[1] British South Africa includes Cape Colony, Natal, the Orange River Colony, the Transvaal, Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Basutoland, Bechuanaland, and Swaziland. The last three are Native Protectorates, at present under the government of the High Commissioner.

in Dutch merchantmen; Indians, who followed in British steamers; Natives belonging to the great Bantu race. The one million heirs of two thousand years of Christian civilization, and the six million children of savage tribes which have but recently come into contact with that civilization—all these will be dwelling side by side; and on this propinquity, this partnership of interest and possession, will depend the future of the continent, the entire possibility of its development, its very existence as the cradle of a Nation.

It is only when we grasp this last fact that we begin dimly to realize what extraordinary qualities will be needed to deal with such conditions: what lofty statesmanship, wisdom and patience; what sterling, fervent Christianity. Plato and Simple Simon, Hercules and Hop-o'-my-Thumb, do not present stranger contrasts than the white and black man, the senior and junior partners of South Africa. The immediate task which will have to be taken in hand will be the yoking together of this unevenly matched pair, the European racehorse and the African ox, so that together they shall safely and successfully draw the State wagon along the rough and unknown road of the future. Of the gravity of that task the High Commissioner, Lord Selborne, recently said that the problem of the Native question 'is the most difficult problem which the people of South Africa have to solve, and the welfare of their children is dependent upon its right solution.'

If this be the case, it is worth our while to consider the attitude of the ordinary conventional Colonist towards the Native. It takes various aspects, some of them thoughtful and anxious, some of them odious and brutal; one aspect only does it never take—the sentimental point of view of Exeter Hall orators of the past and of certain members of Parliament of the present. We will consider the opprobrious views first.

Among a certain section of the Boers there is no doubt that the slave-owner aspect unconsciously survives. Historians tell us that wherever slavery has existed, its curse and taint continue to exercise a malign influence over the descendants of masters and slaves for generations after

their connexion has ceased. Although slavery was abolished in 1834 by the British Government, the Dutch independent Republics in South Africa made it a prominent article of their Fundamental Law that: 'The people will admit no equality of persons of colour with the white inhabitants in State or Church.' It is the survival of the spirit of this law that forbids the pavement of the public streets, the public park, the top of the tramcars and seats in the white man's church to the Native; that provides him with cattle-truck conveyances in lieu of ordinary railway carriages in the trains; that gives power to the arm of the user of the sjambok when a lazy or forgetful Native has to be reminded of his duty; that boycotts the white clergyman who dares to communicate a native communicant if he presents himself at the altar during a service for white people; and that repels with forcible language the abominable idea of spreading mission work among 'dirty niggers.' This slave-owner point of view does not succeed in inspiring the Native with an ardent love for his white master.

A second way of regarding the Native which is adopted by many half-educated Africanders is that which despises him as semi-human, as more akin to the beasts than to themselves. Women of this class will tolerate their black servant-boy's presence during their toilette with the unconcern with which they will admit their dog or their cat into their bedrooms. Familiarity breeds contempt, and to this want of modest respect for themselves as well as for their half-civilized servants may be attributed the terrible results shewn in assaults of Natives on white women and children, which are said to have increased in number since the war. The mismanagement of the native servants that pass through the hands of this numerous class of white masters and mistresses produces grievous harm by its effect of lowering white people in the eyes of the Natives.

A missionary's daughter, who knew the Zulu language familiarly, saw a Zulu come with a parcel to the door of her friend's house, and deliver it in a very rude manner to the white parlourmaid who answered his knock. The lady standing by said to him in Zulu: 'I thought Zulus were

always so courteous'; for in their tribal condition they have a most elaborate code of manners. The Native looked at her very much abashed and answered in Zulu, so that no one else could understand: 'I have lived so long among white people that I have lost my manners!' These undesirable employers are like the boarding-house keeper in *Leaven*,[1] 'afflicted with that very common form of mental myopia which prevented her from seeing the absurdity of treating and regarding the Kaffir as merely a superior type of ape, but expecting him to have the intelligence and reasoning power of a civilized creature. The Kaffir has many provoking shortcomings, but none which irritate so much as his density in grasping the meaning of an order in English, however loudly shouted.'

A shrewd student of the Native problem has wisely observed that a potent method of improving the position of Natives is to teach them English: 'A large number of people who now consider them as animals because they talk "gibberish," will not hesitate to admit them to the same human category as themselves when they know and talk their employer's language.'

A third point of view is that held in common by certain capitalists and by members of African trades unions: that which regards the Native as a breathing *machine* capable of executing vast quantities of unskilled labour under the guidance of white overseers. This machine is invaluable in the mines, the streets, on the farms, everywhere where rough work is waiting to be done. The capitalist is ready to pay wages to this useful machine and does not stipulate rigidly that it shall only be employed on certain well-defined lines. He is glad to use it wherever he wants labour. But that is not the attitude of the trades union member. He anxiously watches lest the machine should get off the lines he has laid down for it. He dreads lest it should become difficult to keep the machine in its place. He fears lest his own foothold should be threatened by it. The position is curious and arises out of the change of attitude which

[1] Douglas Blackburn, *Leaven: a Black and White Story*. (Alston Rivers, 1908.)

the white working man himself experiences the minute he first treads on the red soil of Africa. Instantaneously manual labour becomes to him an ignoble thing, a toil by performing which he would degrade himself. By virtue of his colour he has been transformed into an aristocrat, and no members of the *Ancien Régime* made a stricter religious duty of guarding their privileges than do many white artizans. These privileges may be summed up in the following code :—

1. No white man must degrade himself by doing unskilled work.

2. No unemployed from England or the Continent must be encouraged to emigrate to South Africa, for fear lest plentiful labour should lower the existing very high rate of wages.

3. No Native must ever be employed as a skilled labourer. He must be strictly limited to unskilled work.

4. No Native must be educated. Mental education makes him 'cheeky' and seditious. Technical education enables him to become a dangerous competitor to the white man.

This barbed-wire fence with which Labour has jealously surrounded itself has two weak places. The first is shewn by comparing the enormous birth-rate of Coloured People and Natives with that of Colonists. Without large reinforcements through immigration, the white races will be rapidly outnumbered by the dark to an unmanageable extent. The second is shewn by the determination of the 'breathing *machine*' to have education. If he is denied it in Africa, he will go to America for it; and he will bring back with him to his native land ideas and aspirations which may make the position of the Labour aristocracy like that of the members of the *Ancien Régime* in more unpleasant respects than one.

Lord Selborne, in an address delivered before the Congregation of the University of the Cape of Good Hope, in February last, spoke thus of this false view of the Native :—

'No one nowadays proposes to buy and sell natives like cattle, or to make them work under the lash without payment;

but to say to a human being " no matter what intellect, what quality of industry, what force of character, or what other gifts you may have received from God, you will never be allowed to profit by them," differs from the proposition of the old slave trader only in form and in degree. . . . No artificial barrier of any kind can be legitimately placed in the path of the native to prevent his intellectual development according to the endowment he has received from Providence. . . . If a native has the capacity and force of character to become a farmer or a mechanic or a professional man, the law should put no obstacle in his way. Every avenue of honest livelihood should be open to him as to the white man under the law.'

This opinion, so strongly held by Lord Selborne, is shared, with hardly an exception, by all the various workers in the mission-field. It is their educational work which brings them into collision with large numbers of men and women who hold those views of the Native which have been stated above. In the missionaries' zeal to help the Native to his birthright they too often adopt theories about him as false as those of their opponents, although they look at him through a very different lens. They fail to recognize that the birthright of the Northman need not be the same as that of the Southerner: that the white man's meat may be the black man's poison. Christianity and civilization are in their European influences so intermingled, that minds untrained in scientific analysis, research, or poetic imagination find it hardly possible to separate the two constituents. It apparently passes the wit of the average mission teacher to grasp the fact that his Whitehall Education Code, with iron bedsteads, knives, forks, tablecloths, coats and trousers, are not necessarily bound up with the Creed and the Ten Commandments. And from this cause the false view grew up in the past among a large number of missionaries that the native was ' a lump of wet clay to be thumped ' into the semblance of a European Christian—Huguenot, Moravian, Romanist, Lutheran, Presbyterian, or Anglican, as the case might be.

In an article on 'Kafir Socialism and Missions' in the April number of *The East and the West*, Mr. Dudley Kidd protests against this view :—

'Christianity is under no inherent compulsion to impose any special form of civilisation on its adherents, else should we all be Judaised. It is certainly strange that we should take an Eastern religion, adapt it to Western needs, and then impose those Western adaptations on Eastern races. I can conceive no better way of swamping and stamping out all true individuality in our converts, whose strong imitative propensities are, in this matter, a snare. It need cause us no surprise to note that we have more Europeanised than Christianised the Kafirs, to their loss and the Church's loss.'

Mr. Kidd warns us against the cruelty of squeezing the Kaffir into a European mould and in the process 'crushing out of existence all his peculiar racial traits, not evil in themselves, and which might otherwise have enriched the Church.'

It is clear that these conceptions of the Kaffir as a pariah, an ape, a machine, an embryonic imitation-European are utterly wrong. Which Colonists are they who hold what may be believed to be a true view of him? Those thinkers seem to have come nearest to reality who regard him as a son of one of the child-races of the world; who recognize that he stands in the position of a child to them, and as such claims from them protection, guidance, education, and parental consideration and love. In England, certain people, whose sympathies instinctively go out to the Natives rather than to their own countrymen, the Colonists, look upon the former as having been wickedly dispossessed of their ancient inheritance and lands by the white intruders; and they seem to think of the assumption of paternal responsibility on the part of the European ruler as insufferable hypocrisy which aggravates the blackness of his usurpation. But this is not a fair indictment. The white man's invasion and annexation of South Africa was not the first invasion suffered by that sub-continent. The Bantu race (of which the Kaffir, the Zulu, the Basuto, the Bechuana, the Thonga and the Bavenda are scions) took forcible possession of the land before the intrusion of the Europeans, and drove out the aboriginal Hottentots and Bushmen. In ruling the Kaffirs we are not setting our feet on the necks

of the original native owners of the land, but we are ruling over a people who had themselves dispossessed other races by the power of conquest. It is only fair to remember this fact. At present it is the white man who is in possession, and on his shoulders rests the responsibility for the development and good government of South Africa and of all its inhabitants. Now of these inhabitants, six-sevenths belong to the Bantu race, a race which has been in contact with our civilization for less than a century, but which, so far as our evidence gives us ground on which to judge, is more of a barbarian than most of the European races were when they first came into contact with Roman civilization. To quote again from Lord Selborne's address to the Cape University :—

> 'We cannot tell what may be the development of the Bantu in intellect or character during the course of centuries. . . . Speaking generally, so far as we can foresee, the Bantu will never catch up the European either in intellect or in strength of character. As a race, the white race has received a superior intellectual and mental endowment. On the European in South Africa, therefore, devolves as grave a responsibility as has ever been laid on human beings. As a race, he is as responsible for the future of the less endowed race which lives alongside of him as an individual father is for his children. The white man is the racial adult ; the black man is the racial child.'

The recognition of this truth should help to clarify our ideas on inter-marriage with the Native, on his education, on his qualification for the franchise.

In regard to inter-marriage, a wholesome sense of repugnance to the unnatural marriage of a child with an elderly person is probably one of the causes of our inherent repugnance to mixed black and white marriages. Certainly experience shews us in South Africa that such unions, whether in wedlock or out of wedlock, drag down the white man without raising the black woman. It is the duty of their rulers to do all they can to raise the Natives ; yet the more approachable they become the more does the risk of inter-marriage increase. And one of the hardest tasks of the leaders of opinion in United South Africa will be to raise the moral standard of

both Europeans and Natives to an intelligent patriotic self-restraint which shall make them recognize the wisdom and duty of each race developing and climbing Heavenwards, not on the same but on parallel roads. The Coloured People, that tragic 'outcome of white supremacy,' stand forth as visible warnings of the ominous accentuation of the Native Problem which results from the disregard of the implanted instinct against the mingling of races on such different levels of civilization.

Again, in the matter of education, if the Native's mind is undeveloped like a child's, then, like a child, he needs wise rulers and teachers. The black man must be helped by his civilized rulers to develop naturally. They cannot 'force the pace of his development. It will in most cases be very slow'; but however slow it may be, it will need assistance from without. The Native cannot be 'left to work out his own salvation unaided. It would be just as wise and justifiable for the individual father to leave his children severely alone and let them bring themselves up, as for the white man to adopt this attitude. He cannot shirk the task.' The recognition of this truth should effectually rebut the stock objections still so loudly maintained by too many Africanders against educating the Natives. These are summed up in the old saying: 'An educated Christian Kaffir is a spoilt Kaffir.' The merman sort of convert, neither Kaffir nor European, who unfortunately represents the product of the false theories of some mission schools, may have been the original cause of the coining of this saying; but even in his case, however exasperating his 'swelled head' may be to the beholder, it is hard to lay all the blame upon that woolly member for the results of the unsound system of which he is the victim. And of his airs and graces this should be said: his conceited aggressiveness or priggish language is as transparently a piece of acting as is the bluff of a cheeky little school urchin. And as such it should be treated. When a pert junior 'puts on side,' we do not say that it is the fault of his religion or of his lessons; but we recognize it as boyish foolishness, which reveals his need of a much longer training

in religion and knowledge, if he is ever to be taught how to form a right estimate of himself. Our ripe age and experience make it easy for us to pass a merciful judgement on the absurd behaviour of a silly child. Why cannot Europeans realize that the insolent Native is a child in everything but years? Obviously, insolence should not be tolerated in white child or black Native; but in both cases correction should be disciplinary and educative, and should not consist in depriving them of their teachers and pastors.

The child-character of the Native is shewn in nothing more than in his aggravating and impertinent acts. As for instance, when he tries to impress some stranger, an official on his rounds, with the fact of his educational equality and fraternity, by making the conciliatory response to some question from the official of a surly silence, of turning his back upon the questioner, of pulling letters out of his bosom and making a feint of reading them. Or when he seeks to trade on his piety by introducing himself to the white man in charge of a shift on some mine with the request: 'I want work! Good morning, Baas! Will you give me some? I am not an ordinary boy. I am one of Canon X——'s boys, and I require three meat meals a day!' Or when he triumphantly 'corners' the indignant cook under whom he is scullion, by pulling out his Bible from his pocket whenever she begins to scold him and sitting down then and there to read it. A thousand instances like these are diligently raked together by the opposers of Kaffir education into an ever-heightening pile of reasons which they set between the Native and the teachers from whom they try to isolate him.

But perhaps the trait shewn by the civilized Kaffir which disgusts some of his employers most of all, is his intolerable 'cheek' in going to law against any white man who ill-treats him. They know that it is from the missionaries who trained him at his mission-school that he gained the knowledge that it was open to him to bring an action for assault against a brutal employer. The other day two Welsh miners were overheard remarking one to the other in tones of restrained feeling: 'You have nowadays to treat the

Natives like brothers! They'll have you in Court if you so much as look at them!' The fact that the Natives learn 'their rights' and tell other Natives who are ignorant of them, is, in the eyes of such men, an insufferable result of education.

Apparently it never occurs to these critics that they themselves, by their example and behaviour to the gangs of Natives who work under them, are all the time giving them an education of sorts. The Kaffir is being educated, whether the white man realizes it or not. Every mine, every farm, every household, every stable, every store, which employs him, becomes *ipso facto* a Native school. It is horrible to think what some of the lessons taught there may be—lessons of corruption, fraud, selfishness, intemperance, taught to men who under their tribal discipline had been obedient, honest, dutiful, sober. No wonder that missionaries sometimes exclaim in despair: 'The difficulties of our work are all caused by the bad whites! *They* are the people, not the heathen, who make it heart-breaking!'

But mercifully we can cheer ourselves with the knowledge that all white people are not bad, and that there is another different set of lessons being given in large numbers of God-fearing households, where the influences which surround the native servants are entirely good. As there are 117,000 native servants in three of the States, as in Orange River Colony alone 195,494 Natives live on the farms, the number that receive their civilization from this sort of 'home education' are an important factor.

Concerning the 230,000 Natives at work on the Rand (of whom an average of 400 leave every day at the expiration of their six months' contract, and whose places are filled daily by the same number of fresh comers), the Bishop of Lebombo has come to the conclusion that their sojourn there on the whole makes for good. It must be remembered that his missionary diocese is almost entirely inhabited by Natives of the regions adjoining Delagoa Bay. He has therefore ample opportunity for seeing the effects upon his returned Natives of their contact with civilization. We may infer that his conclusion, from observing them, is

that, in spite of the dangers of contagion from vicious Europeans and demoralized Natives, his people return home less of savages, less violent, with a beginning of individuality and of civilization. No rocks or sandstorms can hinder God from His purpose of making a way in the wilderness by which the heathen shall come to Him.

We have spoken of the errors in the training given by the missionaries. It is only just to speak of their growing willingness to move out of the old conventional lines and to try new experiments, some of which seem full of promise. In one of the Roman Catholic missions in Natal, the visitors were shewn the converts wearing their native dress; sleeping on mats on the ground, according to their kraal practice; the boys eating their meal with their fingers out of the same bowl and squatting on the ground, not perched up unnaturally at a table. The Natal people admit that 'these converts are not spoilt,' although directly they leave the mission-station they are said to go in at once for European clothes. This Roman Mission gives its scholars a valuable 'technical training,' but does not give them the ordinary book education. In a Lutheran Mission, where also technical instruction prevails, the wise German missionaries do a great deal of their teaching through songs. They use the Natives' natural love of music with admirable success. In an Anglican Native girls' school the dictation lesson is given from simple receipts for washing clothes and cooking food; while each girl in turn acts as cook for the establishment and has to give practical proof of her understanding the receipts by following them out from her own copybook. Another Anglican Native girls' school is specially aiming at training the daughters of headmen and chiefs on lines which may help them, when they become wives, to transform the unspeakable condition of the heathens' huts into sanitary and decent habitations.

These four instances may seem trivial; but they indicate an important fact. They shew how some of the mission educationalists are true artists, who have learnt to appreciate the value of the dark shades in their conception of the great scene of the nations of the saved bringing their several con-

tributions to the glory and honour of the New Jerusalem. They, at any rate, are not injuring the picture by daubs of pink and white over the brown and copper and black tints which each fill their particular spaces with such harmony.

The crowning instance of this 'spiritual imagination' was probably shewn by the Anglican Church of South Africa when it formed the Order of Ethiopia within its own fold.[1] Such courageous foresight must, in the future, reap a great reward.

We cannot deal here with this movement, neither must we linger over the education question. We have stated the need for us to educate the Native and the nature of the objections raised to that education It remains to speak of the demands for education made by the Natives, and of testimonies to its value from unprejudiced witnesses. The craving for education is wonderful. The Natives are ready to pay for it, and they mean to have it. They start groups of classes among themselves. A Kaffir on the Rand who can read and write, when he goes off shift gathers a group of other off-shift boys round him and teaches them. The women in a location will collect money to pay the mission-lady's journey in gratitude for her lessons. The Kaffir never grudges payment for that which he has set his heart upon having, namely, an education which shall lift him nearer to the white man.

'"South Africa is to-day covered with schools of sorts, conducted by the natives themselves, and often indifferently conducted," says Lord Selborne, "and there are an unknown number—I am told several hundreds—of South African natives, drawn from every tribe between the Cape of Good Hope and the Zambesi, who have found their way to the United States of America to acquire that education which they intend to have, and which they could not get in South Africa. The question the South African has got to ask himself is, not whether the native who wants education is to be educated, but whether he, the white man, will influence and control that education, or whether it is to be controlled and influenced by imperfectly

[1] In regard to this, reference may be made to an article on 'The Church in South Africa' (*C.Q.R.*, Jan. 1904, pp. 245 *sqq.*)

trained—and sometimes disaffected—natives in South Africa, or by negroes in the United States of America, whose general mental attitude is not precisely sympathetic with that of the South African white ? " '

This advocate for the education of the Native is outspoken in his tribute of praise to the missionaries for their work. Instead of their being ' the subject of reprobation by their South African fellow-whites, they, in fact, should be regarded as the people who have saved the situation, because they are the people who have taken far the most trouble, and who alone have sacrificed themselves in order to ensure that the education of the native, inevitable from the moment that he came into contact with the white man, should contain something of good.' Lord Selborne on various occasions has emphasized his belief that the condition of those Protectorates where the missionaries have had most power and influence shews, by the absence of crime, a marked contrast to the heathen States where mission work has been hardly begun. This is in his eyes a convincing proof of the value of Christianizing and educating the Natives, and other statesmen and administrators are emphatic in their agreement with him. The testimony of an unsentimental witness may also be quoted, *viz.* that of the trader. He says that he can recognize at a glance the difference between a heathen and a Christian Native village, between the savage and the civilized Kaffir, between the foul surroundings, filth, and absence of all attempts at regular gardening or stock-breeding, and the orderly kraal, the mealy patch, the primitive garden or farm. And in consequence the traders always wish to buy in a Christian village.

These testimonies are, at any rate, powerful weapons to use against the generalizing opponents of Native Education.

With reference to the franchise difficulty it is probable that, if the vote had never been conceded to the Native in Cape Colony, the consideration of this question would not have been raised for many years to come. As it is, a section of the English Press and certain politicians in Africa as well as in England, are already advocating it ; and therefore one of the gravest decisions to be made by a United South Africa

will be concerning a Native Franchise. For the third time we would observe that the recognition of the Native as an undeveloped minor helps us to arrive at what seems to be indisputably the true conclusion. The most ardent advocate of a widely extended suffrage draws the line at universal *adult* suffrage. He would be one of the first to admit that the inconsequence of a child's mind would make his vote a danger to the State. It would lead him, for instance, to advocate the sequestration for the use of the Nation of confectionery and jam factories, of strawberry farms and toy shops, instead of mines, railways, and acres. 'There would be no more liquor laws if the Natives had the franchise!' said an Africander discussing the question. 'Now the Americans in the past used the drink as a way of ridding themselves of the native difficulty. They supplied their Red Indians with all the drink they wanted and they committed race suicide, so that difficulty was got out of the way'! This action mercifully has not commended itself to our honest Colonials as one to be copied by them. A Native franchise, which, as the South African Native Affairs Commission state in their report of 1903–5, 'permits it being used in a spirit of rivalry with, and antagonism to, the European electorate, which makes the organized Native vote the arbiter in any acute electoral struggle between political parties . . . is an unwise and dangerous thing.'

The qualifications which ought to gain the franchise for the Native must be those of genuine civilization, *i.e.* 'the average level of civilization of the white man.' And the Native can only reach this level by the slow, gradual ascent of progress, following the lines which it took our forefathers many centuries to tread before the majority of them were considered educated enough to be granted Parliamentary votes.

But while the premature gift of the franchise to the child race of Kaffirs should be in kindness denied them, there should be an adequate provision made for them to express their opinions at Native Councils or Pitsos; and special provision should be made for safeguarding their interests in the South African Union Parliament. The schedule of the

Draft Constitution assures to the three Native Protectorates of Basutoland, Bechuanaland, and Swaziland the possession of their land, and makes its alienation unlawful. It also prohibits the sale of liquor within those territories. But there are a large number of other points for which it is vital to the prosperity and happiness of the Natives that their interests should be specially overwatched by the Government. The illicit liquor trade, the condition of their locations, the harshness of the many varying pass regulations, the imprisonment of witnesses before and during trials, the legal recognition of Native laws and customs of marriage and inheritance in certain States and the refusal to recognize them in others, the barriers to their learning skilled trades—these and other laws and regulations urgently call for revision or reform, while a uniform system of control that shall inflict no hardship upon any peaceable Native subjects is greatly needed through the whole country.

If the foundations of a United South Africa are to be securely laid, if the partnership of European and Native, of brain and muscle, is to be a reality, there must be no longer any ground for suspicion that the senior partner treats the working partner unjustly, that he aims at getting the utmost possible out of his labour, while paying him the least possible in return. He must do in truth what the Welsh miner said in sarcasm—he must treat the Native as his brother.

If he does this, if he insists on his dark-skinned brother being treated with justice, impartiality, wisdom, and kindness, then the Kaffirs in the Protectorates who are now watching the progress of the Closer Union Movement with tremulous anxiety will rejoice in its accomplishment as gladly as the Africander. They will shout their words of thanksgiving over it: 'The cattle! The cattle! The cattle!' and they will claim with proud satisfaction their share of the home-made loaf. May that bread prove to be a life-giving sustenance to every son and daughter of South Africa!

Art. II.—JOHN CALVIN: AN HISTORICAL ESTIMATE.

1. *Joannis Calvini Opera quae supersunt omnia.* Ediderunt G. Baumer, E. Cunitz, E. Reuss. Tomi LIX. (Braunschweig: Schwetschke. 1863–1900.)
2. *Life of Calvin.* By T. H. Dyer. (London: John Murray. 1850.)
3. *Johann Calvin, seine Kirche und sein Staat in Genf.* Von F. W. Kampschulte. Two volumes. (Leipzig: Duncker und Humblot. 1869–1899.)
4. *Histoire du Peuple de Genève.* Par Amédée Roget. Sept tomes. (Genève: Jullien. 1870–1883).
5. *Servetus and Calvin.* By R. Willis. (London: H. S. King. 1877.)
6. *La Théocratie à Genève au Temps de Calvin.* Par E. Choisy. (Genève: Eggimann. 1897.)
7. *John Calvin.* By Williston Walker. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1906.)
8. *Jean Calvin: les Hommes et les Choses de son Temps.* Par E. Doumergue. Tomes I.–III. (Lausanne: Bridel. 1899–1905.)

And many other works.

To explain and apologize for the faults of a great man, while admitting their reality, is a service to be rendered by the biographer not only to the subject of his work but to mankind at large. To deny the existence of those faults is often to do a grave disservice to both. A false or glozing statement which can be disproved; an intentional omission where an adversary can fill the hiatus; a captious argument in the face of plain facts: these things when detected are deemed to militate against the character not so much of the biographer as of him whom he defends. And perhaps no man's memory has suffered more from want of candour on the part of zealous admirers than that of the great Reformer the fourth centenary of whose birth falls in the present year of grace. Down to sixty years ago there were but two opinions regarding John Calvin: one that of the Ultra-

montanes as represented in the outrageous *Vie de Calvin* by Audin, who depicts a cold villain; the other that of Protestant Europe, which sought and found, as it believed, a blameless saint. This legendary figure was first dealt with in England by Dyer, who founded his work on an enthusiastic *Leben Calvins* [1] by one Paul Henry, a Protestant pastor, but used the documents supplied him by the latter to arrive at a calmer estimate of the Reformer's failings as well as his virtues. There followed the essay of Mark Pattison in the same sense, perhaps in parts a little exaggerated.[2] And recently there has appeared the work of Professor Williston Walker, on the whole the most judicial which has yet been published, following closely on the lines of C. A. Cornelius' *Historische Arbeiten.*

It was hoped that in the monumental work of M. Doumergue would be found the final word not only on the facts of Calvin's life but on the enigmas of his character. This hope has scarcely been fulfilled. Sumptuous in form and brilliant in style, crowded and at times overladen with details bearing more on the times than on the history of the Reformer, and based on the newest documental discoveries, the book is fatally lacking in impartiality. Acute enough in his judgement of fables which can be swept aside without affecting the character of his hero, M. Doumergue refuses to recognize plain facts when dealing with the labours of his predecessors, especially those of the Old Catholic Kampschulte, certainly (with Roget and Cornelius) the fairest critic of Genevan history who has yet appeared, and acknowledged as such by both parties. Should M. Doumergue's work ever include the affair of Servetus, it is to be hoped that we may not find in him another defender of a lost cause.

Born at Noyon in Picardy on July 10, 1509, and sprung

[1] Hamburg. 1835–44. Three vols.

[2] Pattison, *Collected Essays*, ii. 1–41. 'The murder of the heroic Servetus' (p. 6) is surely not a very sane description; nor is it possible to agree with the statement that Calvin neglected dogma (p. 23), while the assertion that he (p. 6) 'overthrew the liberties of the State which so generously sheltered him' seems at variance with that on p. 22, 'the discipline did not create freedom; it organized and affirmed it.'

from that race of plebeian officials which afterwards gained recognition as the 'nobility of the robe,' and which gave to France some of her brightest geniuses, young John Calvin started with many advantages in life besides his own great talents. His father held ecclesiastical as well as civil office, and his constant relations with the great episcopal family of Hangest de Montmor[1] enabled him to have his son educated, though at his own expense, with the sons of that house. At the age of twelve the lad was invested with the revenues of a chapel[2] in the cathedral of Noyon and subsequently, though he was never in holy orders, with the living of Martinville, which he exchanged for that of Pont l'Évêque. Not for the first or the last time did the Church cherish in her bosom a future foe. With the young Montmors Calvin was sent to the University of Paris, first to the Collège de la Marche and then to that nursery of great saints and great sinners, the 'Montaigu'[3]—infamous for its vermin, its riots, its debaucheries; famous for its pupils—Erasmus, Rabelais, Calvin, Xavier, Loyola; the last of whom entered it even as Calvin departed for Orleans. Thither he went to study law at the desire, as he says, of his father; possibly at his own also, for he had ever a juristic mind. Attracted by the fame of the great lawyer Alciati, he left Orleans for Bourges, but here he studied Greek also and that under the guidance of Melchior Wolmar, a German from whom it is suggested that he imbibed Protestant ideas. The question of his

[1] Beza's presentation of this family as 'the Mommorii' led McCrie, (*Early Years of Calvin*, p. 5) to imagine that these were a different family from the Hangests. The Count-bishop of Noyon was *ex officio* one of the twelve peers of France.

[2] To speak of this as a 'bursary' (C. H. Irwin, *John Calvin: the Man and his Work*, p. 9) is not candid. It was a mere ecclesiastical abuse, for which the best excuse was the prevalence of such, and it resulted in the usual complaints of scandalous neglect and non-residence. *Cf.* Doumergue, *Jean Calvin*, i. 39, n. 2.

[3] Doumergue, *op. cit.* i. 51–52, 69–73, has collected atrocious particulars. The students of the Montaigu were not riotous through overfeeding. No meat and no wine were allowed, except for 'theologians and priests,' who had for dinner a pint of wine among three, and a whole herring or two eggs; the students had half a herring or one egg apiece. 'La délicatesse, c'était la mort,' says Doumergue truly.

change of opinions and its cause has been debated at wearisome length—Doumergue devotes to it thirty folio pages—and to no great purpose. It is certain that when in 1533 he returned to Paris and to the study of theology he was no longer a Romanist but not yet a Reformer. Here, however, he took his decisive step. He had made the acquaintance of the family of William Cop, a Baseler, the king's physician, and a friend of Reuchlin and Erasmus. A son of his, Nicolas, was Rector of the University in 1533, and had in that capacity to deliver a public oration at the Church of the Mathurins. This speech Calvin wrote for him and it proved so full of Protestant ideas that the Parliament of Paris courteously invited Cop to visit their assembly. He started to go, but luckily thought better of it and fled, as did Calvin, who had been identified as the true author of the speech and who had to escape by a window. But his troubles were not of long duration: Queen Margaret of Navarre succeeded in stopping the proceedings against him, and for a brief period he is said to have resided at her court at Nérac; he was certainly also with his friend Louis du Tillet at Angoulême. But all this must have taken up a very short time, for in May 1534 he was back in Noyon, where he had already been in 1531 at the deathbed of his father who died at variance with the authorities of the Church over a matter which to the impartial observer savours of embezzlement.[1] Calvin's admirers do not hesitate to affirm that in 1534 he 'surrendered' his benefices for conscientious[2] reasons. As a matter of fact he sold one and gave the other (Pont l'Évêque) to a relative. And then there ensued a most mysterious affair. He was twice imprisoned; once for raising a tumult in church; the second time for no reason assigned. Doumergue thinks that the tumult was a pretext for laying the heretic by the heels; but was Calvin

[1] Williston Walker, *John Calvin*, p. 46.

[2] *E.g.* H. F. Henderson, *Calvin in his Letters*, p. 2: 'When personal religion took possession of him in his twenty-third year he resigned his benefices.' Doumergue, *op. cit.* i. 425, n. 3, is perfectly frank. 'On le voit bien; nous sommes dans une banque et non dans un temple.' The affair is strangely in contrast with Calvin's undoubted contempt for lucre in later life.

so very unlikely to proclaim his new views? At all events from this episode arose the monstrous slander unweariedly propagated by Romanists to the effect that he was whipped and *fleurdelisé* (*i.e.* branded) for unnatural crime. Had the charge been brought against his brother Charles it would have been more probable. He died, a priest and excommunicated—no Protestant, indeed, as some would have it; but, as Guizot first pointed out, merely a thoroughly bad man. A younger brother, Antoine, and a sister followed Calvin to Geneva.

Already, before this profession of Protestantism Calvin had published his first work—a commentary on the *De Clementia* of Seneca. It has been frequently reprinted, and it is the more remarkable that so few of the critics who talk of it seem to have read it. Varillas[1] heads the list of such with the statement that Calvin filled it with praises of the Sacramentarians and invectives against the ancient Church. On the other hand it was claimed, and is claimed, that the book is a plea for toleration of the Reformers, whose persecution had already begun in France, and that Calvin is remonstrating with Francis I. as a Seneca with a Nero. There is in reality little more than the title to justify such an assumption. Doumergue regards the book as 'a magnificent manifesto of Liberalism,'[2] but founds his judgement on some vague tirades against the tyranny of bad princes and the cruelty of bad schoolmasters. We turn to the saner judgement of Guizot,[3] who with all the good will in the world had to confess that 'it is true that in the course of his work Calvin does not speak of the Reformers and their hardships; he makes no allusion to them which one can lay hold of.' If the book is intended as a general plea for toleration of all sorts and conditions, one can only say that Calvin unfortunately changed his views later on. But it is nothing of the kind. It is a learned, dull, didactic first attempt. Calvin's real appeal, and that a famous one, came in the shape of the address to Francis I. prefixed to the *Institutes*. Of these something must now be said.

[1] Quoted by McCrie, *op. cit.* c. i. n. 30. [2] *Op. cit.* i. 213.
[3] *Quatre grands chrétiens Français* [E. T.], p. 168.

After leaving Noyon in 1534 Calvin reappears, in legend at all events, at Poitiers, and presently thereafter at Orleans again. A short sojourn at Paris had, we may note, made him and Michael Servetus acquainted. But it was at Basel, to which he betook himself practically as an exile, that he finally elaborated the *Institutes*. Whether he meant it expressly for that purpose or not, the book was destined to give cohesion to the scattered congregations of the Reformed in France, till that time sporadic and a prey to uncertainty, confusion, and anarchy; they needed a common text-book, 'a form of sound words,' and they found it in the *Institutes*. Calvin, it is true, assigns in his autobiographical Preface to the *Commentary on the Psalms* a somewhat different origin to the work. He says it was written to convince the world that the Reformed were no infidels or evil-livers; and to that purpose the famous preface certainly answers. The book itself was in six chapters only—afterwards to be elaborated into four books and eighty chapters; and it contained by implication only the dogmas afterwards identified with Calvinism. It was concerned with faith and conduct, and only in the last chapter did the theocratic theory really appear. Magistrates were ordained of God and ought to be obeyed. So far Holy Scripture; but there comes in the authorized interpreter, the prophet, and explains that away. God is above all and when He speaks He alone is to be listened to—*Calvino interprete*—nor may we seek to please men by offending God. *Ergo*, if the king command what God has forbidden, we must fear God and disobey the king.

From this small beginning sprang the great doctrinal compendium to which Calvin's fame so greatly attaches; and of the completed work a few words must here be said From the plain man's point of view it is the product of a cold and bloodless logic starting from two false premises. The first of these is that Holy Scripture is encyclopaedic in character; that it affords a basis for rules to govern the whole of the varied activities of mankind, and in especial civil polity. It was this last which brought the Old Testament into such undesirable prominence in Puritan language and belief. Scripture was to take the place of the infallible

judgement of the Papacy. Men must have some ultimate court of appeal when in religious doubt; well, they should have it in the Bible, said Calvin, and he would interpret it for them. Half the troubles of Geneva arose from this blind arrogation of supernatural powers—for they were no less; and similarly a personal claim to superior knowledge underlay the second false premise. God, it was posited, is an absolute monarch: limitation of His monarchy is unthinkable; but the free will of man would limit it; therefore free will is impossible. It will be observed that all idea of the Fatherhood of God and of His Love towards mankind is pushed out of sight, and also that Calvin claims a knowledge of God which only a special revelation could have given him. To quote Guizot [1] again 'he meditates and imagines, and if I dared I would say that he presents God to us and describes Him as if he knew Him thoroughly and had exclusive possession of Him. He then summons man into the presence of God, and denies or calmly rejects everything in Him which does not accord with or cannot be adjusted to the God whom he has conceived and depicted.' 'He denies the free will of man and affirms his predestination because *he* imagines that man's free will is opposed to the idea which *he* has formed of the omnipotence and omniscience of God, and that this predestination is necessary to it.' In short it is Calvin's God as well as Calvin's Bible that must be accepted. For the working out of the system—'the scheme of damnation' as it has been called; for the justification of the punishment of thieves and murderers who sin 'with an enslaved will and yet voluntarily' [2]; for the ascription to God Himself of the 'legitimate use of their wickedness' [3]; for the assertion that conscience accuses them of doing what God has ordained them to do, we must go to the book itself.

But the preface is indeed a masterpiece of eloquence and reasoned remonstrance. It does not implore toleration as a concession, but claims freedom (?) as a right. The king ought to be just; to condemn unheard is unjust . . . and if the king fail to act as a minister of God, he is a robber and

[1] *Op. cit.* [E. T.], p. 196. [2] *Instit.* II. v. § 5. [3] *Ibid.* I. xvii. § 5.

no king.[1] And then we have a magnificent passage summing up the sufferings of the heretic in language not unlike that of the eleventh chapter of Hebrews, but ending with the curious bathos which often betrays Calvin's want of sense of proportion: 'we are treated in most unbecoming ways' ('indignissimis modis tractamur').

Around the story of the Reformer's life from the early part of 1536 till his arrival at Geneva in July of that year the mists of legend have gathered. That he visited the court of Ferrara, where at the time the Duchess Renée of France, daughter of Louis XII. (who, as she said, 'had she but had a beard on her chin' would have been ruler of Catholics and Reformed alike), was sheltering poor French refugees, is certain. With her he established relations which lasted many years and a correspondence in which he shines, as he could shine when his personal dignity was not endangered, as an apostle of toleration. Yet even here his personal dislikes make themselves felt; he will have her[2] to dismiss her almoner François Richardot (the name sounds Genevan) for some petty reason; and she will not. As for himself he had to quit Ferrara when Hercules d'Este, the Duke, for political reasons, suddenly turned persecutor; and then romance environs him. A circumstantial account is given by the imaginative Merle d'Aubigné[3] of his arrest by the minions of the Inquisition and his rescue from them as they were hurrying him off to Papal territory; while another Protestant romancer,[4] Jules Bonnet, describes in vivid language his visit to the faithful few in the Val d'Aosta, his sojourn outside the city in a farmhouse, the nocturnal visits of his quaking adherents, and finally his flight, pursued by the Marshal of Savoy, the Count of Chalans, 'with a drawn sword, to the very foot of the mountains'—as if the Alps were a kind of practicable side-scene on the stage. To this legend tradition has added stories of hair-

[1] *Cf.* A. M. Fairbairn, *Cambridge Modern History*, ii. 356.

[2] Bonnet, *Lettres Françaises*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1854), i. 43–56. The editor assigns the letter to 1541; Walker, with more probability, to 1537

[3] Doumergue, ii. 55–56. Muratori had been led into the same error.

[4] *Ibid.* ii. 89–94.

breadth escapes among the Alps, supported by place-names such as 'Calvin's window' and the like. In the story of the Inquisition there appears to be no single word of truth; in that of Aosta merely the probability that Calvin passed through the valley. The mystic inscription[1] upon the cross in the market-place of the town, 'Hanc Calvini fuga erexit, anno MDXLI: religionis constantia reparavit, anno MDCCXLI,' &c., is but a fustian riddle, and it is even suggested that it refers to the *defeat* of Calvinism and its extirpation. Certainly 1541 has nothing to do with the Reformer's flight from Ferrara. If we confine ourselves to facts, we find that he now (1536) visited Noyon for the last time, and on trying to get thence to Strassburg found Lorraine so full of Imperial troops that he went round by Geneva, where he found his destiny and his life's work.

It was a strange little town, French in language, Italian in religion, Swiss in politics, and commercially and industrially German; and its constitution was as anomalous as its position. A bishop in the Holy Roman Empire was as a rule sovereign prince in his diocese except in his capital, which was free. But the Bishop of Geneva was master in his own house, checked only by the democratic spirit of the citizens and the ever watchful aggressiveness of the Dukes of Savoy, who maintained within the city a kind of podestà, the 'Vicedomne,' nominally Lieutenant of the Church but really representative of the Duke and not reckoned as a citizen. The burgesses might be called together in Council General, but were commonly represented by a greater senate of 200, instituted after the alliance of the city with the Swiss cantons and in imitation of these; a lesser council of sixty, of whom we hear little; and an executive body of about twenty-four,[2] of whom four were the annually elected 'syndics' or chief magistrates, and

[1] Dr. McCrie junior and F. Bungener (*Calvin: his Life, Labours, and Writings* [E. T.] Edinburgh 1863, p. 83) both regard the monument as celebrating the triumph of Romanism. The latter gives a very circumstantial version of the legend.

[2] The lists given by Roget at the end of each of his volumes vary considerably in number.

four the ex-syndics of the previous year. Though elective this body tended to become oligarchic, and it was this which enabled Calvin and Farel to exercise such power. A pure democracy they would have found less easy to handle; but by a series of ruthless banishments, which remind us of the worst revolutions of ancient Greece, they brought it about that there was no one left to elect save their own partisans.

Down to the beginning of the seventeenth century the domains of the Dukes of Savoy extended as far as Lyons, and their efforts to secure the one little *enclave* therein formed by Geneva and its dependent villages were untiring. They had their adherents within the town, known as 'Mamelukes' in opposition to the Swiss party, the 'Eyguenots' (a corruption of 'Eidgenoss') and during the first two decades of the century the ducal influence gained ground under a Bishop who was himself a bastard of Savoy. But neither he nor his well-meaning successor, Peter de la Baume, could overcome the stubborn Genevan spirit, which was fortified by alliances first with Catholic Fribourg and then with Protestant Berne. Between these two it was presently necessary to choose. Both had rendered help; but Berne was more powerful and more politic, and in the end the Genevans adhered to her, accepting her thinly veiled protectorate, and, one may almost add, her religion. They were rewarded in 1536 by the complete dispersal of the besieging Savoyard army and the questionable advantage of the extension of their allies' territory (by the conquest of Vaud) well nigh to the gates of their city. The Bishop's authority was repudiated, the Church lands seized, and their owners expelled; there was a general breaking of images, and on May 21, 1536, the assembled citizens swore to live according to the precepts of the Gospel. Already in the preceding year under Bernese influence the public celebration of Mass had been forbidden, and what now took place was little more than a public acknowledgment of that influence. Certainly there was very little intention, on the part of such reformers, of reforming their own lives: that was to be done for them forcibly, and John Calvin was to do it.

Such real Protestant feeling as existed was due to the teaching of the 'chétif malheureux prédicant nommé Guillaume' as that piquante writer, Sister Jeanne de Jussie, of the exiled sisterhood of St. Clara, describes him— William Farel, one of the firebrands of the Reformation, who having quarrelled with Erasmus and disgusted Oecolampadius had come all uninvited to Geneva in 1532, together with Saunier, afterwards Calvin's right hand in the matter of education. For four years, with intervals of exile, Farel and his friends, Froment and Viret, had waged war against 'the Romish harlot,' in the midst of threats, tumults, and even murders, culminating in an attempt, real or fictitious, to poison them all three. The facts are disputed: the woman accused was a Protestant, and the priest whom she accused of suborning her was certainly innocent; nor does her own execution prove anything in such times; in fact, that Viret was taken ill after dinner is the one statement which can be really substantiated.[1] But the affair gave a final blow to the tottering Romanist influence in the city, and Farel was able to take a leading part in the iconoclasm of 1535 and the public declaration of May 21, 1536. But there his successes ended. His savage intolerance[2] was not backed by the necessary moral vigour; and he knew it. It was small wonder that he regarded the chance arrival of Calvin as a blessing sent direct from heaven.

With regard to the moral condition of Geneva, the idea has prevailed that Calvin found the town a sink of voluntary iniquity and left it a garden of compulsory virtues. This is partly true and partly false. Both Romanist and Protestant writers have found their account in blackening the

[1] Kampschulte, *Johann Calvin*, i. 159, seems far more impartial than his critic Doumergue (ii. 131).

[2] *Cf.* Dyer, pp. 59, 60, and the disgraceful story of his proceedings at Neuchâtel, given in full by Doumergue, ii. App. iv. There was something in Farel's character peculiarly antipathetic to women, possibly connected with the foul nickname given him by Erasmus (Dyer, p. 46). On his missionary expedition to Metz in 1542 (Dyer, p. 165) it was women who attacked and nearly killed him. Viret, on the other hand, was beloved by all, and poor ill-regulated Froment gained his first successes among the children.

picture: the former to shew the bad results of rebellion against episcopal rule; the latter to enhance the value of Calvin's influence. But undoubtedly the state of public morals had been deplorable. The canons were open patrons of houses of ill-fame, were even said to own them; that they acted as laymen, and dissolute laymen too, we are assured; and that they could use their swords with dexterity we see from the history of the Farel riots. So far from the Church sanctifying the world, the world had very effectually secularized the Church; and apart from this, the morality of the townsfolk was, as is proved from the public records, singularly bad. Gambling, drunkenness, adultery, and blasphemy were rife, and a 'Reine du Bordel' had been regularly appointed by the magistrates for more than a century. But it is not true that Calvin was the first to attempt to deal with this state of things. Attendance at public worship had long been enforced. A compulsory service at four o'clock in the morning—for servants, poor creatures!—had been established, and proclamations issued against fornication and blasphemy. Innkeepers had been forbidden to allow profane swearing, playing at cards or dice, or the serving of liquor to any person after nine at night. The lieutenant of the city, Curtet, was imprisoned and deposed for keeping a mistress, and Jean Balard, a former syndic, was prosecuted for non-attendance at sermon and for refusing to say that the Mass was bad.

This latter was, indeed, a crucial case. It exemplifies the ugly state of things for which the ugly name of 'caesaropapism' has been coined. Kampschulte [1] well describes Balard's position, 'an honoured and sane magistrate and no fanatic, nobly pleading for broad tolerance and freedom of conscience, but compelled to submit his religious convictions to the apparent political necessities of the day.' In fact the clerical authority, its lawful representatives banished, was

[1] Translated by H. D. Foster in his admirable paper on 'Geneva before Calvin.' (*American Historical Review*, Jan. 1903). His conclusion is that Calvin did not *make* Geneva intolerant. Indeed, Geneva had gone further than Berne in the suppression of the holy days; and Berne disapproved.

promptly usurped by the magistrate, whose intention it was to imitate the Protestant Swiss cantons in making the Church entirely subservient to the State and assuming episcopal power even to the extent of imposing and removing the penalty of excommunication. In this even fiery Reformers like Zwingli had acquiesced. Geneva was to find in Calvin a man of different mould.

The citizens had sworn 'to live in the holy evangelical law and Word of God.' But who was to enforce the 'holy evangelical law'? At first it seemed as if the civil authorities would be able to do so. They had already in June 1535 organized a more or less farcical disputation between the two religions, in which, for want of a better, an unsavoury professional renegade named Caroli, afterwards to prove a thorn in Calvin's side, appeared as defender of Holy Church. The decision, a foregone one, was pronounced by the magistrates, who also took upon them to prohibit the Mass, to distribute the property of the Church, and to suppress all holy days except Sundays. The enforcement of attendance at school was also attempted.

This was by no means a theocracy or rather a clerocracy of the kind desired by Farel and his friends; but, active enough in destruction, they were conscious of weakness in constructive power, and of the want of the dignity necessary to enable them to fight syndics and councils. Hence when it was told him by du Tillet, then a Protestant, that Calvin, already recognized among the Reformers as a man of commanding genius, was passing through Geneva, Farel adopted such means to keep him there as seem to us outrageous. 'God,' he said, assuming that knowledge of the counsels of the Almighty which was the badge of the School, 'will curse your studies if you do not stay.'[1] Of Calvin's reluctance to enter on the arena which was to be the scene of his future autocracy we need not doubt, but we need not attribute it to excessive humility. Geneva was not likely to prove a bed of roses, nor was the little town of some 13,000

[1] Calvin, *Praef. ad Psalmos*: 'usque ad execrationem descendit, ut Deus otio meo malediceret.' 'Otium' is not an easy word to translate here.

inhabitants an ideal place in which to establish a European reputation. We may add that the post to which 'that Frenchman,' as the Council styled its future master, was first appointed, was a very poor one—merely a lectureship in the cathedral of St. Peter. But Farel soon found means to make his man famous; a successfully conducted disputation at Lausanne enhanced his reputation, and within a few months he and Farel felt themselves strong enough to propose to the Council a scheme of Church Ordinances including (1) the establishment of monthly communion and the exclusion of 'the unworthy'; (2) the promulgation of a 'Confession of Faith,' to which the citizens should be compelled to assent personally and not *en masse*; and (3) the control of matrimonial causes by the ministers. In this last we see the germ of the claims of the future Consistory. But the time was not ripe for all this. Neither to the first proposition (save as regards the exclusion of the unworthy) nor to the third would the magistrates consent. Four times a year they thought was enough for Holy Communion. But to the exaction of personal adherence to the Confession of Faith—a formula which Calvin promptly produced—they saw no objection; they did not even oppose his scheme for enforcing it by domiciliary visits of syndics and 'dizeniers' or 'tithingmen.'

But there were stiff-necked folk among the citizens—men who held that a Genevan's house was his castle.[1] The *dizeniers* failed, and probably meant to fail, in their unpleasant duty, and recourse was had to the feeble expedient of another national manifestation on stricter lines. The whole population was required to attend at St. Peter's and there to listen to and subscribe the Confession of Faith; which they did, says Calvin, 'with much enthusiasm.' Possibly those who were present felt such enthusiasm, but half the city was absent—too many to banish or even to coerce. A second assembly brought in a few 'non-jurors,' but a decree of expulsion issued against the rest remained

[1] The writer has in this account, which differs considerably from that of Calvin's unscrupulous apologists, followed Choisy, a strong 'Calvinian, but generally impartial and accurate.

a dead letter. In fact the opposition was as varied in character as it was obstinate. It included a few who still adhered to Romanism, a great many who stood for liberty of conscience, like Balard, some (or one at least) who declared that 'the commandments were too hard to keep,' and also those who had adopted Anabaptist doctrines. For this last element of discord the Reformers had themselves to thank.

Six months before, in March 1537, there had come to the city two Anabaptist preachers. Liberty of prophesying was not yet abolished, but the tolerant views of Berne still held some sway, and the men were allowed to propound theses which they desired leave to defend publicly. The Council, worldly-wise, suggested that they should plead before the Two Hundred; but nothing would satisfy Calvin and Farel short of an open discomfiture of their opponents. Somehow things went wrong. The Anabaptists proved powerful debaters, and the Council, seeing that the faith of many was 'vaxillating,' had, after all, to interfere, to tell the 'Catabaptists' that their arguments were unsupported by Scripture, and finally to send them packing, leaving behind them, however, many persons impressed by their arguments. These joined the ranks of the malcontents, and the growing dislike of the preachers was voiced by the jests and taunts of every street corner.

The final impetus which led to Calvin's overthrow was lent by Berne. Berne had never ceased to hope for an effective control of the affairs of the little city on the lake, and was only, it is said, deterred from active interference by the fear of driving the Genevans into the ever-open arms of France. The fear was not unfounded; early in 1538 a French soldier, Montchenu, had been in Geneva and had certainly tried to tamper with the heads of the Reforming party, but, as it seems, unsuccessfully: Calvin was no traitor. But Berne was almost his declared enemy. Bernese deputies had openly said that all who had sworn to the Confession of Faith were 'perjurers,' because no one could possibly keep the oath. It took all the efforts of Calvin and Farel to bring their Lordships of Berne to the chilly admission that the document was 'in accordance with

God and Holy Scripture.' Things were indeed going ill for the preachers; at the beginning of 1538 the four men who had most opposed their plans were all elected syndics; they were staunch supporters of the Reformation; they had stood by Farel through thick and thin; but with Calvin they could not agree. Yet they shewed little open hostility, unless we may count as such the rejection of a scheme for re-dividing the city into parishes, a proposition for the expulsion of French refugees suspected of traitorous plots, and an order, as vain as it was vague, forbidding the preachers to 'meddle in politics.' But the rupture was brought about by the Government's resolution to 'live in the Word of God according to the ordinances of my Lords of Berne,' which ordinances included the use of the font in Baptism and that of unleavened bread in the Holy Communion. In these observances Calvin and Farel never pretended to find any harm; that they made of them a *casus belli* shews clearly that they meant to resist any ecclesiastical order not emanating from themselves, and Calvin shewed his curious obliquity of mind by his question 'How is it better to submit to Berne than to Rome?' The magistrates, backed by the populace, insisted upon the observances, and the preachers retaliated by refusing to celebrate at all, giving as their disingenuous excuse the unworthiness of those who flocked to the altar. They would have those who came excluded, and those who stayed away punished for not coming. 'For both,' says Choisy, 'contemned the honour of God,' and of that honour John Calvin had constituted himself the champion and avenger.

The ministers were inexorable; either they would exclude whom they would from the Communion or there should be no Communion at all. Old Courault, a *ci-devant* monk, in preaching before the magistrates attacked the citizens with insults. 'You are like rats among straw,' he cried, and the words probably contained a vile allusion based on the word 'paillard'—'your flock consists of a crew of drunkards without conscience.'[1] Naturally, he was

[1] Doumergue, ii. 280, Coraud, 'le collègue de Farel et de Calvin, *ayant blâmé le gouvernement*, le conseil lui interdit de prêcher.' He and

forbidden to preach, and on his doing so again in similar strain was deservedly put in prison amid the hysterical outcries of Farel and his like. But the sense of the people was against them. Nocturnal demonstrations in their despite became common; guns were fired outside their houses and threats of 'To the Rhone!' were uttered. But the climax was reached when Farel, preaching at St. Gervais on Easter Day, 1538, declared that he would not administer the Sacrament, because the audience, who he said 'had come there with swords and staves,' were not worthy to receive it; and he launched into a description of those excesses which the preachers always attributed to their opponents, good or bad. This was too much: as Farel descended from the pulpit swords were drawn, and his friends had to close round him to protect him from violence; next day he and Calvin were ordered to leave the city. They went, they said, with unfeigned joy; and yet no sooner had they left the town than they drew up and laid before a synod which presently met at Zürich the conditions on which they would be willing to return, and even attempted to do so under the protection of Bernese deputies, being only turned back by the information that twenty armed men were waiting for them at the city gates.[1]

In other respects Calvin's exile turned out altogether to his advantage, enabling him to establish as European what had hitherto been little more than a local reputation; and indeed at twenty-nine who could have looked for more? Fixing his abode at Strassburg, where the city gave him a post, ill-paid and insufficient even for his modest needs—he had to sell his books to live—he almost at once attracted the attention of half Europe by his reply to Cardinal Sadolet,[2]

Roget, i. 86, imply that the objectionable words were not uttered in the pulpit. Kampschulte (i. 310) and Choisy say that they were.

[1] Doumergue, ii. 288, attacks Cornelius (and, indeed, every other fair-minded writer on the subject) for saying that this episode 'produces an impression unfavourable to Calvin.'

[2] The foolish legend of Sadolet's visit to Calvin and his surprise at the poor surroundings of the great man was traced to its source and exploded by Guizot. Mr. Henderson (*Calvin in his Letters*, p. 110) repeats it without hesitation. He describes Sadolet as 'a deep man, who

the learned and humane bishop of Carpentras, who had addressed a rather vague appeal to the Genevans, beseeching them to return to the ancient Church. Calvin's reply is a masterpiece of eloquence and reasoning, and it was recognized as such. 'Here,' said Luther, 'is a work which has hands and feet'; and indeed no one could better meet Sadolet's charges of self-seeking than the starving theologian of Strassburg. But he did not starve long; he was presently in request at the multifarious religious conferences—Hagenau, Worms and Ratisbon—which marked the last sincere effort for the reunion of Catholic and Protestant. His diplomatic insight was marvellous. 'A native' says Kampschulte,[1] 'could not have estimated the situation more clearly than this young Frenchman, ignorant of the German language.' He foresaw, for example, the immense importance of that duchy of Cleves the acquisition of which may be said to have formed the foundation of the Hohenzollern empire. Yet for his adversaries his language is that of the unreasoning hater. Even for the noble Contarini he has no good word, and his sympathy for Eck on his recovery from what was believed to be his death-bed is expressed in the regret that 'the world had not yet deserved to be rid of such a beast'! The one poem ascribed to him dates from this period: it deals with his enemies, and the less said of it the better. For Rome he had no conciliatory word; to compose the differences among the Reformers he was willing to sacrifice minor points to secure the essentials.

The respect and admiration with which he was now regarded seem to have set the seal upon what his apologists in vain deny to have been a repellent personality. The boy who was called by his schoolfellows 'the Accusative'[2]

was always working in the interests of his Church' (p. 67). He would have been a poor churchman if he had not done so.

[1] *Op. cit.* i. 329–330.

[2] Doumergue, i. 75, suggests that the statement of Audin, that Baudoin attributed this name to Calvin, arose from the fact that Calvin had said that Baudoin's cousin was known as the 'Ablative Case' from his stealing propensities! It matters little, as Mr. Williston Walker (p. 42) points out; Beza's words, 'severus omnium in suis sodalibus vitiorum censor,' as applied to a mere boy, are quite sufficient.

did not earn that nickname for nothing, and that Calvin had a few firm and affectionate friends proves little. The man who has none 'must be either a god or a beast,' if we may borrow from Aristotle, and the most disagreeable personages, in literature at all events, have had their faithful followers. It is more to the purpose to note how many friends Calvin disgusted and lost. His early benefactor and protector, Louis du Tillet, he describes on his return to the Church of Rome as one who 's'est *vilènement* révolté et retourné vers les Papistes'[1]; with his good friend and correspondent the Seigneur de Falais he quarrelled because de Falais would not quarrel with a third person; and Ami Perrin, the man who worked hardest to bring him back to Geneva, he succeeded in turning into the bitterest of enemies. Melanchthon, a man older than himself and, at the time, of greater reputation, he simply bullied. Of Luther he was afraid[2]; he begs Bullinger 'not to forget how great a man Luther is,' and yet he must deal him a stab through his friend Melanchthon. 'Must not this defect,'—Luther's violence and blind intolerance—he says, 'increase and grow from day to day if everyone trembles before him and gives way to him in everything?' It was well that the two never met. Sebastian Castellio, his own *protégé*, he persecuted with relentless ardour; and such friends as he retained to the end were humble admirers—Bezas and Farels. Nor were his domestic affections apparently warmer. The coldness of the letter in which, while addressing his correspondent as 'a friend dearer than life,' he announces his father's approaching death has often been commented on.[3] For his faithful wife, when she died, his eulogy was that 'she had never been a hindrance to him.' His letters shew many marks of considerateness and even kindness, but the affectionate terms which they contain are little more than our own conventional epistolary

[1] Doumergue, *op. cit.* ii. 177.

[2] Dyer, pp. 180–186. *Cf.* Pattison, *Essays*, ii. 35. Farel, speaking to the council, said, 'Ye ought to handle more tenderly with such a man as is Calvin. . . . He hath not spared Luther or Melanchthon, and they have borne it meekly.'

[3] *E.g.* Williston Walker, *op. cit.* p. 52.

politeness. If we are to ascribe their face-value to these, we must also take literally the equally conventional names of 'beasts,' 'furies,' and 'dogs' with which he labels his adversaries.

Many of his mistakes were no doubt owing to his want of sense of humour. He took himself seriously, and everything else too. The attempts at jocularity contained in two of his latest tracts, the '*Gratulatio to Gabriel de Saconay*,' and another addressed 'à un certain bélistre nommé Antoine Cathelan,' seem to us merely ponderous obscenities. The position of an Erasmus continuing in a Church of which he ridiculed the faults seemed to the clear-headed young Frenchman illogical and therefore wicked; he could not understand the great satirist; nor indeed, in spite of his diplomatic skill, did he ever understand men at all, or care to do so. The 'personal equation' had for him no meaning, or at least no importance. An index to his character in that respect may be found in the fact that, though for two years he was constantly employed in assemblies where German was spoken, he never took the trouble to learn the language, and yet refused a wife who would not study French for his good pleasure. Himself singularly endued with the qualities of which saints are made, utterly contemptuous of worldly pleasures and, what is rarer still, of worldly wealth, he would have all men to be like him, and went through life stretching all on his Procrustes' bed, and if their exuberant development exceeded his standard, figuratively—and in some cases literally—'shortening them by the head.'

Of the causes which really led to Calvin's recall to Geneva varying accounts, and none quite adequate, are given. That it was due to frightful disorders consequent on his departure from the city is a statement unsupported by facts. The one riot which took place resulted in the execution, or rather judicial murder, of a personal enemy of his, Jean Philippe, one of the syndics who had banished him. This revived the hopes of the party of the 'Guillermins,' as they were called after William Farel, and an untoward episode in the city's dealings with Berne completed the

overthrow of Calvin's foes. Three deputies, two of whom had been colleagues of Jean Philippe as syndics, negotiated certain 'articles' with the astute Bernese, which were regarded as degrading to the city. The 'Articulants' as they were called—a name afterwards exalted by a high effort of Genevese wit into 'Artichokes'—were, as we should say, impeached, and banished 'for 101 years,' and the fourth of the guilty syndics, Claude Richardet, died of injuries received in trying to escape. Thus manifestly repudiated by Providence, the anti-Calvinist party received no help from the preachers who had been summoned from outside to take the place of the exiles. They were worthy men enough, but they had neither the eloquence nor the commanding personality of Calvin. And that was what was wanting in the face of the aggressiveness of Berne without and the unrest within, which shewed itself in the defiance both of ministers and magistrates. To these dangers was added a possible third in the shape of a Catholic reaction headed by Balard. This, however, came to nothing, and the execution of Jean Philippe being followed by the emigration of many families of his partisans, the friends of Calvin succeeded in filling the places of such absent syndics and councillors with men devoted to his interests. From that moment it was seen that Calvin must return; and that, if he did so, he would return as a despot must have been pretty well recognized. But for nearly a year he put off definite acceptance of the invitation conveyed to him by Ami Perrin. It was not till September 13, 1541, that he made his public entry into Geneva. And with that began the final struggles for mastery between the French and German elements in the little republic.[1]

In a few days, or rather hours, Calvin was ready. He demanded of the Council a delegation to confer with the preachers on the organization of the Church, and in three weeks the new 'Ordinances' were ready. They were supposed to be based entirely on the Word of God, which was

[1] Charles V. had most impolitically in a letter to his 'Imperial City' of Geneva in August 1540 stirred up the townspeople to resist the aggressions of Berne. *Cf.* Kampschulte, *op. cit.* i. 364–5.

regarded as a text book of polity—as inculcating, for example, compulsory education for all and state-maintenance of the poor in the hospital, on which two points disorder had undoubtedly existed during Calvin's absence. The ministers were to be formed into a kind of corporation known as the 'Venerable Company,' with regard to which the regulations were not unlike those of ordinary Presbyterian Churches to-day. But our interest centres in the 'Consistory' or tribunal of conduct. Over the functions of this court, composed originally of six preachers and twelve elders, the latter elected annually, the disputes of twenty-eight years were waged. According to its constitution as originally granted by the Council, it could summon before it offenders against public morals, but could not (till much later) examine them on their oath. It could, in cases where the culprits had been warned and proved recalcitrant, exclude for a time from Holy Communion, but not excommunicate. It could inflict no civil penalty, but could demand of the 'secular arm' to do its unpleasant work for it. From these small beginnings sprang in the end a veritable tyranny. By 1557 there were twelve preachers on the board and twelve laymen,[1] and they had acquired control over foreign military enlistment, the use of false names (Calvin himself had seven or eight), usury, the position of servants, and printing privileges; and Calvin was a kind of perpetual vice-president.[2] In 1561 a comedy was allowed to be performed 'if Master Calvin [not the Consistory] is of that opinion.' The teachers in the College and the Academy were subject to the approval of the Venerable Company and to 'ecclesiastical discipline.' The control of the Council over the ministers, apart from its approval of their election, was restricted to their actions as municipal functionaries. It did, however, effectually resist the proposal to admit foreigners to the Consistory, which would have quickly made it a tribunal of aliens.

[1] Kampschulte, ii. 358. Pattison's statement (p. 25) that 'it was a main point with Calvin that the lay element in this body should outnumber the ecclesiastical' may be true of one period of his life.

[2] Dyer, p. 137 n.; Henry, i. 469; Williston Walker, p. 271.

All was to be founded on Holy Scripture. But who was to interpret Holy Scripture? Calvin had no hesitation in answering that he could give an infallible interpretation. By thus assuming a Papal prerogative he challenged a natural anti-Papal opposition; but he succeeded in establishing his position so thoroughly that to disagree with him was made a penal offence, and the words 'blasphemy against Calvin and the ministers' were actually used on the occasion of a famous trial.[1] One incident which is recorded savours of farce. A man who had privately expressed his dissent from Calvin's doctrines was in church when he saw a police-officer enter. He ran out of church and out of the city, only to find that he was not the person sought for.[2] As late as 1558 a denial of Predestination was punished by banishment only.[3] In 1563 it meant scourging till the blood came, branding, and perpetual exile. Yet his admirer Choisy assures us that Calvin 'never exercised a dictatorship at Geneva.'

Dictatorship or not, his power was to a great extent founded on alien influences. He was possibly right in introducing his countrymen as preachers: Genevan talent did not lie in that direction. But it was the vast influx of lay refugees from France who formed his chief support; 4,000 destitute Waldenses are said to have entered the city after the terrible persecutions in Provence in 1545. It was the rich exiles who were chiefly desired, and of these there were many, headed by Galeazzo Caracciolo, Marquis of Vico and grand-nephew of Paul IV. For a time they were welcomed by all for the sake of the money they brought. 'Here,' said a citizen on the arrival of a party of immigrants by water, 'comes a boatload of stone for the town walls.' But after a time when they began to press for admission to citizenship and threatened to swamp the councils, the patriotism of the native Genevan was aroused; the severest regulations had to be passed to protect the exiles from insult, and this in turn aroused further discontent. The result was the formation of the party to which, unhappily

[1] Choisy, p. 78. It is, however, fair to say that, as Roget, i. 71, points out, 'blasphemy' meant little more than 'insult.'

[2] Kampschulte, ii. 363. [3] *Ibid.* p. 362.

for its reputation, the name of Libertines,[1] has become attached, though actually, as Kampschulte shewed, the word was first used after Calvin's death. Of the true character of the party no better description can be given than that of Mark Pattison[2]—'The name which the Calvinists succeeded in imposing on their adversaries has prejudged their case. The term "Libertin" was transferred to the Liberal party in Geneva, the remnant of the old Liberators, from an Anabaptist sect in the Low Countries. The Antinomian doctrines of Quentin and Cop the Spiritual Libertines were never adopted by the Genevan patriots, who were neither theologians nor metaphysicians; they were no systematic defenders of sensuality.' In the records of the trials of their leaders there is no word of dogma; nor did Calvin himself in his book against the 'Spiritual Libertines' in any way identify them with his Genevan opponents. It is, then, surely unpardonable that Mr. Henderson in a book just published[3] should attribute to the patriots every vice which the vile sect encouraged and should say of them that 'They practised adultery and indulged in sexual promiscuity, while at the same time they held up an unabashed countenance in the Church and claimed the right to sit at the Lord's table.'

Liberators or Libertines, such was the party against which Calvin fought and, for good or for evil, won his fight. It may be said to have begun with the affair of the plague in 1542–3, and the epochs in it are marked by six great trials, each of which ended in the disgrace, the banishment, or the death of Calvin's enemies. And then came the solitude which he called peace. The matter of the plague no doubt first cast a slur on the character of the foreign preachers. A chaplain was needed for the patients, and Sebastian

[1] It is unfortunate, to say the least, that Mr. Irwin (p. 114) should write Libertine with a small 'l.' One might as well write 'Tory' 'tory,' and so affix to the mildest Conservative the stigma of an Irish rapparee. We may refer to the use of the word Libertines entirely without opprobrious meaning by the English translators of Acts vi. 9. It is quite untrue that Calvin (as Audin, *Histoire de Calvin*, p. 308, says) invented the name.

[2] *Essays*, ii. 38.

[3] *Calvin in his Letters* (London, 1909), p. 75.

Castellio, the schoolmaster, volunteered. For some reason his offer was declined, and the other ministers (including Calvin) holding back, one Blanchet accepted the terrible task. When the plague broke out again next year Blanchet died, and the other preachers—Calvin was not in question—flatly told the Council they were afraid.[1] A Frenchman was appointed who proved a villain. It was hardly likely that such ministers would be popular, but no blame should have attached to Calvin in particular. Writing to Viret he said plainly that he did not like the risk, but that if it were necessary he would do his duty: a straightforward and manly statement of his position. Unhappily, Beza[2] invented a legend of how Castellio, Blanchet and Calvin alone volunteered; of how the lot fell upon Castellio; how Castellio shirked the task; and how the senate forbade the eager Calvin to compete again; the exposure of which deplorable fiction has naturally injured the reputation of the man it was intended to exalt.

Possibly as a result of this episode, Castellio was the first of Calvin's victims. A veritable type of the starving scholar of the Renaissance, he had been by Calvin's influence placed in charge of the public school of Geneva; but his original views on the canonicity of the Song of Solomon and on the Descent into Hell procured him first the enmity of the Reformer and then, as its natural result, banishment. More serious was the case of Pierre Ameaux, and more characteristic of the times; for the offence of which he was accused was speaking evil, in his cups, of the dictator, and Henri de la Mar, a minister there present (one of those who had officiated during Calvin's exile) did not say him nay. Ameaux was condemned to make public apology, but that was not enough for Calvin; for to accuse him of false doctrine was to impeach Holy Scripture and 'blâmer le nom de Dieu.' He would not preach again till Ameaux was condemned to walk round the town bareheaded in his shirt with a torch in his hand and 'cry mercy of God and Justice.'[3]

[1] *Calvini Opera*, xxi. 314. [2] *Opera*, xxi. 134.

[3] Choisy, p. 78. The writer has in the account of these trials followed Choisy closely. He at least cannot be accused of antagonism to Calvin.

But Calvin did not spare his friends any more than his enemies. Ami Perrin, his faithful supporter and now 'captain-general,' with his wife, a member of the great family of the Favres, went a-dancing. Calvin declared that the Favres were presuming on rank and wealth to put themselves above the law, and all the parties concerned were imprisoned, to the great delight, we are told,[1] of the populace (which is generally pleased when it sees its betters sent to gaol). But Perrin henceforward was Calvin's bitterest foe, and his wife, a woman of spirit, told the Reformer her opinion of him in plain language: 'Oh, you wicked man,' said she, 'you would like to drink the blood of our family; but you will be turned out of Geneva before we are.' The prophecy was not fulfilled. A charge of treason brought against Perrin, and supported by a French refugee—Maigret, surnamed 'the Magnificent' and a friend of Calvin—did, it is true, fail and recoil on the head of its propagator; but the result of the trial of Gruet, half madman and half atheist, who had, schoolboy fashion, stuck an abusive placard into Calvin's pulpit, was wholly in the dictator's favour. He was beheaded, and his death-warrant was signed by two strong opponents of the Reformer, Vandel and Philibert Berthelier.

This was in 1547. Four years later the position of affairs had changed, and when Jerome Bolsec dared publicly to impugn the doctrine of Predestination, Calvin and all his ministers could effect no more than his banishment, while the Protestant cantons, who were appealed to in the matter, dealt somewhat faithfully with the preachers of Geneva and their violent letters. Indeed from 1551 onward the Calvinist cause appears at a low ebb. Bolsec had many sympathizers, including Calvin's special friend de Falais, and the party of Liberty profited from the disgust caused by his trial. Preachers were excluded from the General Council, and an attempt was made, on the score of economy, to reduce their salaries, which was only frustrated by a disgraceful measure authorizing the sale of public offices. Alien refugees were forbidden to bear arms; and Calvin with his customary

[1] Choisy, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

exaggeration declared that he dared no longer invite the persecuted to Geneva. It needed a sacrifice to revive the drooping cause, and the victim was found in Servetus. That Calvin had years before expressed the intention of getting this man killed if ever he came to Geneva matters little: he talked of lesser men in the same strain; and the question is not of what he said, but of what he did, and as to that Dr. Willis' book, though not impartial, can leave us in no doubt whatever.

Michael Servetus was a fool of genius: a Spaniard of Aragon, with the virtues and some of the vices of his race. The point in his character which strikes the man of common sense is his trustful stupidity, coupled with a perfect genius for lying. The very name under which he lived for twenty years or more was a false one, taken from a place where he sometimes said he was born, and sometimes not. Attached to the suite of a cardinal, he must needs earn expulsion by writing a book against the Trinity, which he was surprised to find did not appeal to Oecolampadius. Taking to medicine he discovered (in part) the circulation of the blood, though, thanks to Calvin, the book in which he enounced it survives in two copies only; and promptly spoiled his own prospects by dabbling in astrology. But the crowning and fatal folly of his life was committed when, living peacefully under the protection of the Archbishop of Vienne, he forced his acquaintance and his views—Anabaptist, Arian, and Pantheistic—on the dictator of Geneva, whom he had personally offended many years before. He insisted on a correspondence which soon degenerated into hot controversy, and after calling Calvin 'blasphemer,' 'true Jew,' and (as excluding unbaptized children from heaven) 'thief and robber' not only entrusted to him the manuscript of his new Antitrinitarian work, the *Christianismi Restitutio*, but returned him a copy of his own *Institutes* with opprobrious marginal notes.

To our thinking, Calvin's conduct in the trial of Servetus at Geneva is not so hateful as his attempt to get him condemned by the Romanists. Had he succeeded, an enemy would have been quietly removed from his path, and one

more victim would have been credited to the intolerance of the Papacy. Indeed, had it not been for his personal spite, the escaped heretic would probably have been welcomed at Geneva, without regard to his peculiar tenets, as a bird escaped from the fowler, and lost among the crowd of refugees. Of these, one, William Trie, was early in 1553 in correspondence with a cousin named Arneys, at Lyons, who was trying hard to bring him back to the Roman faith. On February 26 a letter was written, nominally by Trie, which has affixed an everlasting stigma on the character of John Calvin.[1] Under the cloak of reproach for the carelessness of Rome regarding real heresy, it denounces Villeneuve (he then called himself) as the notorious Servetus—Calvin had divined that secret—and gives particulars of the printing of his new book with all the malignant minuteness of the informer. The letter was accompanied by two leaves of the newly printed (and not yet circulated) *Christianismi Restitutio* including the table of contents—matter enough for prosecution. But worse followed. Arneys at once set the heresy-hunters on foot and asked Trie for further evidence; Trie sent the manuscript which Servetus had entrusted to his

[1] To the fair-minded man who has the letters (given in full by Dyer, App. iv.) before him, only one conclusion is possible. Calvin's early apologists were shameless. Henry (iii. 140), speaking of Trie's sending the leaves, says, 'Nothing else could have been talked of at Geneva except this book. Any number of copies could be procured from Stephanus [Viret had *one*—and that was at Lausanne]. *Servetus had flooded the world with them.*' That tone has been dropped, but Mr. Irwin (p. 164, n.) refers to an article by M. Neuss in the *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français* (Sept., Oct., 1908) as triumphantly vindicating Calvin. A few extracts may suffice. P. 398: Trie is 'surprised at the use made of his *confidential* communications' [the italics are M. Neuss'], and forthwith proceeds to send more. P. 403: 'Les textes que Calvin se laisse arracher ne sont pas des textes confidentiels' (but what of the letters?), and (*ibid.*) Calvin saw in the denunciation 'un moyen suprême de sauver la tête de ces jeunes gens' (five young Protestants then under sentence of death in France) 'en rassurant ceux qui accusaient les protestants de laisser détruire tous les fondemens de la loi.'

A third letter of Trie's, not referred to in the text, gives, besides some false particulars as to the life of Servetus, certain true ones which could only be known to Calvin.

enemy and the thirty letters he had written, obtained with great difficulty from Master Calvin, who it is added 'thinks it his duty rather to convince heresy by sound teaching than to pursue it by such means,' *viz.* the sword—a fine sentiment, marred by the ensuing exhortation to 'seize his person and put him on his trial.'

Seized he was and put on his trial, where he lied like the foolish creature he was, denying first his identity with Servetus and then the printing of a book of which the judges had two leaves in their hands. But though Cardinal Tournon of Lyons was delighted at the idea of one heretic getting another burned, his Grace of Vienne was not minded so to sacrifice his *protégé*, and Servetus received a hint to walk out of prison through the garden, which he did, and went, of all places in the world, to Geneva, while the inquisitors confiscated his book and burned it (and him in effigy) in a slow fire.

What took the man into the lion's den and kept him there for a month it is impossible to say. He knew that Calvin had been his betrayer. Possibly, but not probably, the Anti-Calvinists thought they could use him: they certainly did not save him; more probably mere foolhardiness took him to the city, and induced him on an August evening to shew his face in church. Calvin heard of it and promptly had him arrested, instituting the prosecution against him through one of his own servants. The story of the trial is too well known to be repeated here. Calvin was the real prosecutor, and the charges were sometimes frivolous, as when the prisoner was charged with giving the lie to Moses by denying that Canaan ever flowed with milk and honey. Of this 'the vile dog,' says Calvin, 'wiping his muzzle, said, Let us pass to the next; no harm in that.' But other counts were serious. Yet the judges would not condemn till they had taken the opinions of the Protestant cantons. This Calvin, with bitter recollections of Bolsec's escape, first opposed, and when opposition failed, actually wrote to the cantons beforehand to secure a verdict.

Servetus died in torment, proving his heresy, as it was said, by his dying exclamation, 'Jesu, Son of the eternal

God, have mercy on me.' As a rule, the theologians approved of his execution; laymen considered it a murder; and Calvin himself was so uneasy about it that he defended it, and the general principle of killing heretics, in a not very successful book, quoting the instances of Nebuchadnezzar and our Lord as justifying him. He had already in his well-known letter to the Protector Somerset urged the necessity of using the sword against Papists and Anabaptists, and his exhortation was followed, if not obeyed, by the lamentable burning of Joan of Kent. But right or wrong, Servetus' trial and execution proved the deathblow to the Liberal party in Geneva. Their weakness had been displayed in their failure to save him, and within two years advantage was taken of a chance riot to bring against them charges of conspiracy which ended in the execution of four of their leaders and the exile of hundreds of the most patriotic men of Geneva. Calvin reigned supreme; but he had sacrificed the reputation of a lifetime to the satisfaction of personal spite, and to political opportunism. Two excuses are commonly made for him: one that he was carried away by fanaticism; the other that any other Reformer of the time would have done the same. But Calvin was no fanatic; he was a merciless logician, and that is all. Nor is it true that others would have acted in like manner. Luther's opposition to the prosecution of those who dissented from him was plainly expressed, and it is difficult to ascribe to a Melanchthon, a Bucer, or an Oecolampadius, such action as that of Calvin. On the other hand judicial murder has been a favourite weapon of militant Calvinism. The execution of Aikenhead at Edinburgh in 1697 was no better and no worse than that of Servetus at Geneva in 1553.

And Calvin now reigned in Geneva. His power was strengthened by the immense respect with which he was by this time regarded throughout Europe, his influence penetrating even to far-off Poland, where, by the way, he recommended episcopacy. He had indeed made of his city a veritable 'Protestant Rome'—a tribunal to which every kind of religious difficulty was submitted. What was the fit punishment for adultery? May the Communion be

administered to a dumb person? May a minister lend money on usury? May a civil judge sit in a Consistory court? Can an ex-bishop be admitted as a Protestant minister? Is lay-baptism lawful? Such were a few of the problems submitted to the new Pope. His one solicited interference[1] in the affairs of the English Church, in the case of the stubborn Hooper, was judicious and helpful; but when he undertook to compose the troubles of the Marian exiles at Frankfort he not unnaturally sided with the Calvinists and lost his influence with the Moderates. At Geneva the 'theocracy' was established. Every Christian holy day save Sunday had been abolished, and Calvin was even suspected of intending to transfer the Lord's Day services to Friday or Saturday.[2] He could compel everyone to listen to his sermons, officers being employed to hunt out defaulters in their own homes, while he himself visited the villages for this same purpose. He and his friends had at last gained the power of excommunication, and in respect of the sacraments they took what order they pleased, dictating, for example, in baptism what the name might be: no Popish saints or legendary worthies were recognized—no Gaspards, Melchiors or Balthasars, no 'Anges' or 'Baptistes,' and by no manner of means a Claude. In interference with domestic matters, however, some sad disappointments occurred. An attempt to shut up all taverns and to replace them by four 'abbeys' or clubs, where no one should be served who would not say grace, failed dismally in a month; the lieutenant of police had to be reprimanded for questioning servants as to their masters' cardplaying; and the ladies' game of ninepins could not be put down; but on the other hand a crusade against slashed breeches and doublets with crosses (the Swiss emblem) on them was successful. Musicians might not tarry in the town unless they promised not to play dance music. Stage plays were long discussed and at

[1] That Calvin's advice was specially asked in the matter of the divorce of Catherine of Aragon seems doubtful. He was then a very young man indeed, and McCrie (c. ii. n. 52) doubts if the letter on which the statement rests refers to Henry VIII at all.

[2] Choisy, p. 239, n. 2.

last tolerated only if they dealt with Scriptural subjects; but even then the preachers 'advised that the money would be better given to the poor.' To be ill for three days without sending for a minister; to beg in the street; to play cards with closed doors; for a bride to wear her hair loose; for a spinster to wear jewellery—all these things were punishable by law. Two young men who betted as to who was the prettiest woman in Geneva were summoned and warned. Calvin's words were as sacred as his person[1]: men who laughed while he was preaching were imprisoned; Philibert Berthelier was excommunicated for saying that he was as good a man as the dictator; and of frivolous prosecutions for careless words there was no end. 'Why are you not in church?' said an official to a man on horseback in the street: 'Is there room for me and my horse too?' he answered, and went to gaol for it. In fine, opinion—and that the opinion of one man—had been made into law, and to hold other opinion was crime.

One side of Calvin's activity, however, it is possible to speak of with whole-hearted praise. In spite of his amazing statement that 'he would rather see all sciences banished from the world than that they should cool the zeal of Christians and turn them from God,'[2] he was zealous for education. There had for a century been a foundation-school at Geneva, but it had dwindled into insignificance. Calvin revived it in the improved form of a lower or children's school—the 'College'; and a high school for older students—the 'Academy.' But he had a difficulty in obtaining teachers until the break-up of the College at Lausanne in consequence of the tyranny of Berne, in 1558. The exiled professors flocked to Geneva, where Beza was appointed Rector of the Academy, Chevalier professor of Hebrew, Beraldus of Greek, and John Tagaut of Philosophy. It was principally a seminary of Protestant theology; but students flocked to it from all parts of Europe, many being excused from subscribing to the Confession of Faith—among them Thomas Bodley.

[1] *Opera*, x (ii). 49.

[2] In the *Apology for the Nicodemites*. *Opera*, vi. 600.

It was said of a light of modern Oxford that he got his measures carried by refusing to speak to anyone who voted against him, until opposition ceased. The marvellous victories of Calvinism may be said to have been won in similar fashion. In whatever country it obtained a footing it brought with it bitterness, discord, and disintegration. Through the Huguenots of France it all but tore that kingdom in halves; it rent in twain the seventeen provinces of the Netherlands; for the horrors of the Thirty Years' War it was, through the miserable division in the Protestant camp at the critical moment, mainly responsible; to our own country it brought intestine strife; again it divided the Netherlands in 1830; and we can even trace its influence in the smouldering enmity of North and South, of Puritan and Cavalier, which at length blazed forth in the great American Civil War. And yet it has conquered, and conquered by making itself impossible to live with. 'As Alexander it will reign. And it will reign alone'; its neighbour must either submit to it or go; unless, as happened in the single instance of France, he can cast it out. The case against it in respect of this latter country is well, if unconsciously, put by Dr. Fairbairn [1] in speaking of the result of Calvin's influence at the time of his death: 'Religious hate was even more bitter and vindictive . . . but the Huguenots had grown numerous, potent, respected, feared, and disputed with Catholicism the supremacy of the kingdom.' For weal or woe, 'Catholicism' for once gained the day.

There remains one more problem. How is it that a belief not far removed from fatalism, which should have ensured moral paralysis, has increased the moral vitality of every nation which has accepted it? The answer probably is that no man ever yet held this creed in its entirety and with all its logical results as they would affect himself. No man except a maniac ever yet believed himself predestined to be a thief or an adulterer; but millions have believed themselves predestined to be militant saints, and in that belief have contemned and sacrificed earthly pleasures and earthly advantages, have undergone miseries

[1] *Cambridge Modern History*, ii. 373.

unspeakable, and have at last in multitudes cheerfully laid down their lives for the glory of the Lord, and in the firm belief that they were but the instruments of an inexorable will.

A. T. S. Goodrick.

Art. III.—THE ROYAL COMMISSION AND POOR LAW REFORM: THE MAJORITY REPORT.

1. *Report of the Royal Commission on the Poor Law and Relief of Distress*, 1909. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of His Majesty. (London : Printed for His Majesty's Stationery Office by Wyman & Sons, Ltd.)
2. *The Poor Law Report of* 1909. A Summary explaining the Defects of the Present System and the Principal Recommendations of the Commission so far as relates to England and Wales. By Helen Bosanquet. (London : Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1909.)

I.

As we look back over the seventy-five years which have passed since the Poor Law Amendment Act became law, and reflect on the high hopes which were then entertained that its passing would usher in a period of material prosperity and general well-being such as had hardly been dreamed of before, we cannot but feel a sense of keen disappointment and an inclination almost to despair of legislation, however excellent, as a remedial agency. For, disguise it as we will and explain it as we may, the record of these seventy-five years' administration of the new Poor Law is the record of a disastrous and almost gigantic failure. The failure, of course, has not been complete in every direction ; there have been times when a considerable impression has been made on the sum total of pauperism, and when it looked as if the impression might be gradually extended till that sum should be reduced within manageable limits; and there are large districts of the country where even now things are very much better than they were in 1834, and where there seems at least

a hope that further improvement may yet take place; there is, moreover, at any rate one department of the reformed Poor Law where a marked and abiding success has been won, which holds out a promise of securing equal or greater results in other departments in the future. And yet, as has already been said, as we gaze over the whole field, these are but partial and transitory patches of light which serve only to throw the general aspect into deeper shadow. When so much was hoped for, how has it come about, we ask ourselves, that so little has been accomplished? Let us begin by an attempt to answer this question.

There seem to be two chief causes to which the comparative failure of the Poor Law Reform of 1834 has been due. In the first place the authors of that reform were men of a too purely intellectual type, and they were too much in advance of their time. They considered, as did Bentham himself and so many of his contemporaries and of those whom he influenced, that men and women were for the most part beings whose conduct was regulated by enlightened self-interest; and, in fact, men and women are not such, or at any rate are not such to the degree which Bentham and his associates supposed. In many directions human nature, with its inherited instincts, its deep-rooted prejudices, its sentiments, its irrational likes and dislikes, asserted itself. Men acted quite differently from the way in which rational beings should have acted: they falsified the predictions of the reformers and nullified their best-laid plans. It is only another way of expressing the same thing to say that the reformers were ahead of their time, and so never succeeded in carrying with them those for whose benefit they legislated, nor even persuaded many of those who were called upon to administer the system they had formulated of the soundness of their principles. The result was that in many parts of the country the laws and principles laid down by them were either never put into force at all, or most imperfectly administered; and, even when partially put into force, they led to very different results from those which their authors had anticipated, while in too many cases they were constantly and ingeniously evaded.

A second defect from which the reformed Poor Law suffered was that it imposed upon voluntary workers a greater burden of responsibility and of unremunerated effort than they were able to bear. This being so, while a great deal of admirable and unselfish work has been done by unpaid Boards of Guardians, it was inevitable that some individuals should find their way on to the Boards who sought that position for the advantages, direct or indirect, which membership might confer upon them. Thus in country places a good many farmers became Guardians, not because they wished to do the best for the poor and to assist them, but in order that they might keep down the rates, or make wages a little easier by providing for their men and their men's families in sickness; or again to obtain what was virtually a pension at the public expense for their labourers when they were past work. Others again stood for election, particularly in the towns, with a view to their own direct advantage—to secure contracts for their friends or commissions for themselves on the contracts which they helped to place. It would be unjust to think that corruption of this kind has been universal or even very widely spread; yet when public money was concerned such corrupt motives were almost sure to some extent to come into play, and recent revelations have shewn that in some quarters they prevailed to a very undesirable extent.

But, even where Boards of Guardians have been honest and free from the taint of corruption, they have yet failed to realize the full responsibilities which devolved upon them; nor would they often have been able to fulfil them satisfactorily had they realized them. To take a particular case. One of the most flagrant defects which the inquiry has brought to light in our existing system has been the little care and supervision exercised by Boards of Guardians over the recipients of out-door relief, when once the relief has been granted and its amount determined. Even the best-disposed, the most enlightened, and the most careful Boards seem to have thought that their functions were ended, and that they had done all that could be reasonably expected of them so soon as these points were settled. Nor could it well

have been otherwise; for, had Boards of Guardians undertaken in addition to the administration of relief, to the care of the workhouses, the infirmaries, and the schools which were placed directly under their control, the supervision of the outdoor paupers whom they relieved, such a task would have involved a sacrifice of time and an expenditure of energy which it was hardly reasonable to expect that unpaid workers could give; certainly it was more than, as a matter of fact, they were ready to bestow. Nor could the relieving officers, unless they had been greatly multiplied, have made good the deficiencies in this respect of the Boards of Guardians; perhaps they might have done more in some cases than they actually accomplished; but public opinion was not sufficiently enlightened to require from them a more efficient discharge of their duties, nor did the Boards of Guardians who appointed them wish or intend that they should undertake voluntary duties in this direction; for, had they made recommendations which would really have met the necessities of the case, such recommendations would have involved a more serious immediate increase of the rates than either the Boards or the ratepayers who elected them would have regarded with equanimity or patience. What might have proved, here as elsewhere, an efficient remedy, *viz.*, co-operation between the Poor Law authorities and voluntary charitable agencies, has not been hitherto very popular in England; certainly it has hardly been carried out on a sufficiently organized scale to effect the good which it should be able to accomplish.

II.

Let us next consider the condition of things in which the seventy-five years' working of the new Poor Law, suffering, as it has done, from these inherent defects, has landed us. The Report, at once thorough and comprehensive, furnishes us with ample material for the construction of such a picture, and gives, too, ample food for reflexion.

In the first place, though for a time after the passing of the new Act pauperism steadily, and in some periods even rapidly, diminished, in recent years the diminution has been

constantly less, till matters seem now to have come to a complete standstill so far as the proportion of pauperism to the population is concerned, while the absolute number of paupers has increased, and, in recent years, has increased rapidly. Nor is this all, or even the worst. The increase has been far the greatest among men, and among those who ought to be able-bodied men—*i.e.*, among those who are between sixteen and sixty-five years of age. The increase in this class has been as much as 18½ per cent. To what causes are we to attribute this most unsatisfactory feature of our modern economic condition? They seem to be various. In the first place, as regards the later years of life, legislation and the policy of the trades unions have had a good deal to do with it. The various Workmen's Compensation Acts have made masters less willing to employ older men than they used to be, since such men are more exposed to accident, being less alert and active than men in the prime of life. Then, again, in many, if not in most trades, a man must be in the prime of life to earn the full rate of wages on which the trades unions inexorably insist. Could an employer keep on an experienced workman at a somewhat reduced wage, it would often be his interest and his pleasure to do so: at the full wage exacted he can no longer afford it. There is no doubt that this cause presses hardly upon men past the prime of life and drives them at an earlier age than used to be the case into applying for relief or into the workhouse; and we fear that with the growing complexity and efficiency of machinery this evil is likely to increase. We are told, for instance, that mules so perfect and automatic in character have lately been invented, and are gradually being introduced in America in the cotton trade, that a man in the prime of life will be able to tend eight of them at one time, whereas at present he can look after, at most, two or three. Such a change—and we imagine it could be paralleled in other manufactures besides the cotton-weaving trade—while it will increase the demand for workers in the prime of life, will seriously interfere with the prospects of the older men; for older men are no longer capable of the great activity which is required.

But there is another evil, one which the Poor Law itself seems unintentionally to have created, which tends to bring about an increase in able-bodied pauperism—*viz.*, the fact that the offer of the workhouse has no longer the deterrent effect which once it had, even upon the comparatively young. So far from dreading 'The House,' a great many young men have come to regard it as a comfortable home in which they have no responsibilities and but little work. Various causes have co-operated to bring about this disastrous result. The great size to which workhouses, particularly in London, have grown, and the inclusion in one house of inmates of very different descriptions, have made the exercise of any salutary discipline and the enforcement of strenuous employment upon the 'able-bodied but idle' a matter of the greatest difficulty. Young men, again, coming into 'The House' for the first time, driven in, it may well be, by illness or other serious misadventure, find plenty of *habitués* of the place able and willing to instruct them in every device for avoiding hard work and for leading an easy-going, careless life; and those admitted for the first time easily deteriorate mentally and morally under these ill-fated companionships. There, as elsewhere, 'evil communications corrupt good manners.' In large workhouses, again, it is very difficult to prevent the able-bodied from sharing, at any rate to some extent, in the more comfortable fare and more cheerful surroundings which the sentiment of our time not improperly demands for the aged and those who are really past work. It is said, also, that the magnificence of many of the modern workhouses, even though they are not really specially comfortable, exercises a fascination over the imagination of the would-be loafer who likes to feel himself a possible inmate of so imposing an institution. But what has really added most of all in recent years to the number of able-bodied men seeking relief has been the growth of unemployment, and on this, the most unsatisfactory feature in the economic condition of our time, we must now say a few words.

The importance which the members of the recent Royal Commission attach to the question in its bearing upon the problems of poverty and pauperism is seen by their devoting

a whole part of their Report to its consideration, though they themselves appear to have been conscious that the consideration of it scarcely came strictly within their reference. What makes the question more formidable and calls the more for inquiry is that this increase of unemployment has occurred during a period when wealth has greatly increased, when there has been a large development of our manufacturing industries, when trade has been on the whole brisk and flourishing, when enormous sums have been spent on the education of the working classes. Nor is this all; for the problem has further, as the Commissioners point out, altered its form, and that certainly not for the better. Till recent years the problem has been, or been supposed to be, to deal with men thrown temporarily out of work by slackness of trade, periods of which seem to recur at more or less regular intervals. All that would be necessary in this case would be to enable men thus suffering to 'tide over' a temporary emergency, so that when trade revived those temporarily assisted might take their place once again in the ranks of the regularly employed and the more or less adequately remunerated. But what we are now brought face to face with is not a comparatively simple problem of this kind, but a much more anxious and difficult question, *viz.*, how to deal with a vast mass of what seems to be *chronic or permanent* unemployment or under-employment. How, then, we go on to ask ourselves, has this change in the character of the problem been brought about?

Many causes have unfortunately contributed to it. First, we observe that it is a phenomenon mainly, if not entirely, restricted to the towns. In country districts the problem of unemployment hardly presents itself. It would seem, therefore, that the first cause has been the shifting of population from the country districts into the great towns, with the consequence that in them labour has grown too rapidly to be absorbed in the ranks of those who can obtain regular employment. In the second place, a good many of those migrating from the country to the town have not been brought up to any skilled or settled employment, and have, therefore, to join the vast host of casual labourers, tending by the very fact

of joining that host to make the labour of those already so employed more casual still; for it is obvious that the more there are on the look out for an odd job the less must be the chance of anyone of them succeeding in securing it. The main responsibility for this state of things must certainly rest with our defective educational system, under which, though millions have been spent in educating the working classes, comparatively little has been done to make them industrially more efficient. Statistics shew that since the passing of the Education Act of 1870 the class of skilled workmen has been little added to, but that of unskilled labourers has largely increased. The explanation is that while the intelligence of the children has been sufficiently awakened to make them flock to the towns for the sake of the higher wages which are to be earned there, their education has provided them with no special training to take the place of that hereditary skill in agriculture which many of their parents possessed. So those of them who have not taken to clerical or scholastic work have drifted into the position of newsboys, errand boys, messengers, draymen, only to find themselves landed, as they grow up, among casual labourers and the partially employed.

This is one side of the picture; on the other the opportunities for casual labour have also greatly multiplied. With the great increase in our shipping has come a corresponding increase in docks and dock labourers; and dock labour furnishes almost the typical instance of casual employment. Paid almost necessarily by the job, varying in amount from day to day with the arrival or non-arrival of ships to be unladen and laden, such work attracts to it all those—and they are many—who prefer a few days of hard but well-paid work, followed by periods of enjoyment and idleness, to a continuous round of steady, monotonous exertion. Nor is it in the docks alone that casual labour has increased. Messengers, errand boys, and carriers of various kinds have multiplied; while there has grown up in connexion with many trades, but particularly in the building trade, a fringe of subordinate workmen whose employment is scarcely ever certain, but intermittent and casual. It is often alleged as a

further explanation of the growth of casual labour that employers of labour are glad to see and encourage a certain margin of unemployed workmen, since the existence of such a margin enables them to keep up discipline and the standard of work among those actually employed. That the employers do not deprecate the existence of such a class is probable enough ; that they have done anything deliberately to call it into existence is unlikely, and cannot be proved ; the existence of such a fringe inevitably arises from the difficulty of adjusting the supply of skilled labour both to the general conditions of industry and still more to those fluctuations of demand in particular trades which occur from time to time. In conditions like these, while there will be a constant demand for the very best workmen, the less skilled and the elderly will only too surely drift into the ranks of the half-employed and of casual labour when times are slack. Once more, there is the constant tendency to substitute, under the pressure of commercial competition, machinery for human industry ; and with each substitution of a newly invented machine for a labourer or group of labourers comes a resulting amount of unemployment for those who previously supplied the labour ; and the men thus turned out necessarily find it exceedingly difficult to get work elsewhere and are only too apt to end by becoming either wholly unemployed or at best casual labourers.

But, further, it is to be feared that the steps taken and the methods adopted to deal with the problem, whether within or outside the Poor Law, have but intensified the evil which they were intended to cure, and have helped to convert what we used to hope was only a passing phase in our economic development into a permanent condition. If the unemployed have appealed to the Poor Law, they have been assisted (as they were bound to be, if able-bodied, under the existing law), by the offer of 'The House' ; and when admitted have been required to do a certain task in return for the relief received. But it has been found exceedingly difficult in practice to exact the task of work which the law requires ; still more difficult to instil regular, steady, and persevering habits in those from whom the labour is exacted. More-

over, the very small powers of detention which the Guardians possess quite prevent the possibility of imparting habits of steady industry to those relieved. Thus the majority of the unemployed admitted to the workhouses become the unsatisfactory class known as the 'ins-and-outs,' and end by settling down into the most intermittent and consequently the most worthless of casual labourers.

Nor has their fate been happier if they have been taken over to be dealt with by the general public. At first the public tried to deal with the emergency by pouring their money into large relief funds. The money, when collected and distributed in a rather amateur way through unskilled agencies, not only failed to do any permanent good to those who were recipients of its doles, but attracted to the towns, and particularly to London, casuals and vagrants from all over the country; and in this way served only to intensify the evil. Next the municipalities took the work in hand, and did it no better. They started relief work in a spasmodic kind of way; but as they could neither employ all that applied for employment, nor secure that those who got work should do a good day's work for the wages they received, they did but squander the wealth of the community and confirmed those they helped in their habits of intermittent labour and idleness. Finally the Distress Committees established under the Unemployed Workmen's Act of 1905 can scarcely be regarded as more successful. Not only have they for the most part failed to secure habits of steady work in those whom they have employed (and have, therefore, paid for inferior work much more than it ought properly to have cost) but where the work has been of real public utility the natural time at which it should have been undertaken has been anticipated, and while a certain, not very satisfactory, amount of employment has been found for the unemployed, it has been found at the cost of those who should later on have found in it regular employment. This evil of forestalling regular work in the interests of the unemployed and the casuals, and thus making the lot of the regular, the thrifty, and the hard-working difficult in the future, has never been so rampant as during the last winter

(witness the huge sums which have been advanced to municipal bodies by the Local Government Board—sums of which Mr. Burns, urged on by motives of political expediency, seems to be making a boast) and will leave behind it, we fear, a grievous legacy of unmerited want and shortness of employment for diligent regular workers in the future.

Of the remedies which the Commissioners put forward to meet the disastrous state of things thus created, we shall speak later on; what we have to observe now is that this evil of unemployment and the curse, so closely connected with it, of casual labour stand out as two of the most notable blots in our economic condition—blots which, though they have not arisen solely or even principally from the mistakes or the omissions of the Poor Law, are yet so closely connected with the whole question of poverty and distress, and the methods by which they may be relieved, that it seems impossible to pass them by when discussing such questions.

A third blot on our existing system of relief to which the Commissioners call attention is the very unsatisfactory results which have been obtained in dealing with young able-bodied women. It has been usual to deal with persons of this sort by admitting them to the workhouse; but this is a case in which the want of adequate classification, which at present prevails in our workhouses, has told most disastrously. A young girl driven into the workhouse by illness, misfortune, lack of friends, or a lapse from virtue, is forced, as soon as she is discharged from the infirmary, to herd with other able-bodied women who have often long been inmates of the place. From them the girls soon acquire a bad and demoralized tone. They are encouraged by their elders in habits of untidiness, uncleanliness, foul language, and ill-discipline, which speedily undermine their virtue and self-respect; they either remain in the workhouse handing on to others the bad tradition from which they have themselves suffered, or, leaving it, become in too many instances a corrupting influence in the world outside. It would be indeed unjust not to acknowledge the good work

which has been done in many workhouses by the self-denying efforts of those ladies who have set themselves to grapple with this particular evil; the success which they have met with furnishes good augury for the results which might be obtained from the general adoption of a better classification and a better system.

III.

We pass on now to consider what we have already alluded to as the defects and shortcomings which have manifested themselves in the administration of outdoor relief. For these evils the Poor Law Commissioners of 1834 can be held very little responsible, for their object was to render such relief entirely illegal in the case of the able-bodied, and to restrict it within very narrow limits in other classes. Where they failed, so far as they did fail and have failed, was, as we have seen, in not carrying with them either the general opinion of the country or even of those who were to be called upon in the future to carry on the system which they inaugurated. How great their failure was in this respect may be gathered from the fact that the number of those in receipt of outdoor relief is, even at the present day, double of those in receipt of indoor relief, and that in country districts there are nearly four and a half outdoor paupers to every indoor pauper. It is not, however, the fact of this vast amount of outdoor relief, serious though that undoubtedly is, but the irresponsible way in which it has been administered by the existing Boards of Guardians, which is mainly to be deplored and has led to those evils to which the Commissioners call such emphatic attention. The classes among whom outdoor relief is distributed are mainly three: the aged, widows with children and single women, and those who are temporarily or chronically sick. Evils disclose themselves in connexion with each of these classes. With respect to the aged the evils complained of are mainly two: first that as there is no adequate inquiry into the circumstances and external means of subsistence of the applicants the

relief granted is often superfluous in one case and hopelessly inadequate in another—an evil which will certainly not be mitigated when old age pensions come into universal operation, and no inquiry into special circumstances is required from or even permitted to the Pensions officers and Pensions Committee beyond a somewhat perfunctory one instituted for the purpose of ascertaining that those applying for the pensions are not already in possession of, or legally entitled to, an income which would disqualify them from any pension at all or for the full legal pension. A second evil complained of is that in a certain number of cases old people live on under conditions which render them a source of danger alike to themselves and their neighbours. They are filthy, neglected, and often bedridden. Such cases will, we fear, be apt to multiply under a system of universal old age pensions unless more stringent powers of removal are given to the Poor Law authorities when the surroundings in which the pensioners are living are thoroughly unsatisfactory, and unless the laws against overcrowding are more strictly enforced.

In the case of widows with children and of single women the evils resulting from an ill-regulated system of outrelief are more serious and more apparent. But the evils which have to be encountered arise from the same cause as in the previous case—*viz.*, want of a sense of responsibility and want of watchfulness and inquiry when relief has once been granted. The investigations of the Commissioners have brought to light the fact that a certain proportion of those in receipt of outdoor relief live, particularly in towns, in surroundings which are of a most undesirable kind; that the children grow up in conditions which cannot but be both physically and morally deleterious to them; and that the Poor Law itself is thus tending directly by its action both to perpetuate a condition of the worst kind of pauperism and to enhance the rents of those who own the uncared for and ill-reputed property in which outdoor paupers of this class too often live. One of the recommendations of the Commissioners, which at least deserves consideration, is that certain streets or districts should be

proscribed, dwellers in which should be regarded as *ipso facto* ineligible for outdoor relief. Yet there are two obvious dangers to which such a recommendation is liable: one is that its adoption might give rise to favouritism, jobbery, and a good deal of disagreeable wrangling among the Guardians, who would often thus be called upon to judge of the condition of one another's property; the second danger is that in driving away undesirable characters from one neighbourhood one may be but helping to demoralize another, since we must always remember that it is the character of the people which makes the neighbourhood rather than the neighbourhood which makes the people. 'Caelum non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt.' The safer course would seem to be to continue out-relief to no one who is not living a decent, respectable, self-respecting life; only, if this is to be done, there will be need of more relieving officers and of a much more searching inquiry than is made at present.

The evils which beset the granting of relief to unmarried women are partly of the same, partly of a different kind. On the one hand it is often in the ranks of those in receipt of outdoor relief that the slatternly and degraded and women who are living the most unsatisfactory lives are to be found, since the more respectable often prefer almost to starve rather than receive outdoor relief; on the other hand, the acceptance of relief by women tends to increase (though the Commissioners think not in a marked degree), for there is always a supply of unskilled women workers in excess of the demand—the number of those who will accept almost any job offered them at starvation wages. In other words, outdoor relief granted to single women tends to foster what are known as the women's sweated industries.

The great danger which besets the granting of outdoor relief to the temporarily or permanently sick is that in many cases it encourages their being nursed in their homes under conditions which are most unfavourable to health and speedy recovery. This evil has to some extent diminished in recent times, since the improved workhouse infirmaries of modern days are no longer looked upon with

the suspicion and the dislike with which they were once regarded, and in many cases the sick and their friends raise little objection to their being removed to the workhouse infirmary. But, though the evil has diminished, the evidence given before the Commissioners shews that it still exists, and exists in parts of the country to a very undesirable extent. A second danger which arises when the sick in receipt of outdoor relief are nursed at home is that they are very likely, in the crowded state of the dwellings of the poor, to spread the diseases from which they are suffering. This the Commissioners consider is specially liable to occur in cases of consumption, and they quote instances, brought under their own observation, where disease of this kind has been in this way communicated to other members of the family.

Yet in spite of these drawbacks, and others, such as the poor remuneration and overwork of the parish doctors, the want of any sufficient co-operation and clear line of demarcation between the voluntary hospitals and the Poor Law infirmaries, the administration of medical relief under the Poor Law must, we think, be regarded as one of the satisfactory features of our existing system. Anyone, however poor he may be, has little or no difficulty in obtaining, and quite speedily, medical assistance in sickness, and in most parts of the country very fair nursing as well; but to be able to say thus much is to be able to say a good deal.

Another department in which it is possible to feel satisfaction is that of the children, the care of whom has been entirely taken over by the Poor Law. Whatever the system adopted, if only the system has been kindly and efficiently administered and the children have been removed from the influences of the workhouse, the results in all cases—in barrack schools, in scattered homes, in cottage homes under boarding-out—have been consistently and surprisingly good. Each system has no doubt its own special difficulties and dangers to be guarded against; but when the Guardians have shewn intelligence and care in selecting their officers and their Visiting Committees, these dangers and difficulties have been successfully met and overcome. The

only system which can be said to have almost uniformly failed is that in which, through outdoor relief injudiciously granted, the children have been left to the uncontrolled and ill-directed care of a thoroughly incompetent or vicious mother. Children brought up under such conditions have only too constantly proved a fruitful seed-bed of misery and pauperism in the future.

IV.

Having thus rapidly surveyed some of the principal features of our present economic condition as developed under the influence of the existing Poor Law, we will go on next to consider the chief recommendations of the Commissioners for its amelioration and reform.

At the outset the Commissioners propose to abolish the name of Poor Law in every connexion, and to substitute for it that of Public Assistance. They advocate the change on two grounds: first because the old name has gathered round it associations of degradation and humiliation to those who are relieved under it, and from such associations they desire the new system to be exempt; but secondly they advocate the change because they wish that a wholly new spirit should characterize the Public Assistance of the future from that which has for the most part distinguished the administration of the Poor Law in the past; and that in several different directions. In the first place the administration of the Poor Law has been, and has been intended to be, primarily deterrent. One of the principal aims of the reformed Poor Law of 1834 was that those who found themselves destitute and unable to support themselves and their families should turn to the public for relief only when they had exhausted every other means of obtaining assistance from those on whom they had a legal or even a moral claim; it was further intended that those who came on the public for relief should be on the whole less well off and in a less favourable position than those who managed to support and provide for themselves. Nor, unless the whole of the working classes are to be pauperized and the country to be reduced to a worse condition than

that from which it was rescued by the Poor Law reform of 1834, is it possible to depart in the main from these principles. Yet the Commissioners think that it is possible to administer Public Assistance in a more sympathetic spirit than that which the Poor Law authorities have shewn; that more stress may be laid than the Guardians have generally laid on the necessity of assisting the applicants, and less on the deterrent effects which the operation of the system is intended to have; that the assistance given should be of a more varied kind and more carefully adjusted to the needs of the recipients than it has been in the past, charity being called in to supplement, where necessary, the assistance from public sources. The Commissioners therefore propose that in place of one uniform system of indoor and outdoor relief, the needs of each case should be separately and carefully considered; and that that particular kind of help, whether of a public or a private kind, should be given, whether in an institution or at the applicant's own home, which seems likely to meet most adequately and satisfactorily the special needs of the case. This would of course entail a far closer co-operation between public assistance and private charitable agencies than it has been found possible to establish hitherto.

Then, again, the Commissioners desire that a more serious attempt should be made than is made now to search out and to understand the *causes* of failure and distress with a view of remedying the causes rather than of palliating the results which have followed from them. With this object they suggest that a much more thorough investigation should be made of an applicant's past history, that the facts about him should be more accurately recorded, and that the applicant himself should be induced to submit in many more instances than at present to a course of training and discipline such as might bring about a change for the better in his surroundings, his habits, or his disposition.

Now if we may consider first these general principles which underlie the Commissioners' recommendations as a whole before proceeding to discuss the recommendations

themselves in detail it is obvious to make the three following criticisms upon them.

In the first place their general effect would be not to diminish but to increase the labour and responsibilities of those who undertake, either as public administrators or as dispensers of private charities, to assist those who claim to be in need of assistance. But if, as we contend, the existing system has partly broken down because a heavier burden has been thrown on those who administer it than the majority of men are able or willing to undertake, is there not a danger that the new system may break down even more conspicuously from a similar cause? Of course the objection might be met, and probably in practice will be met, by the multiplication of paid experts and officials to take part in the work; *e.g.* the number of relieving officers will be increased, inspectors added to, more paid agents of various kinds employed. Yet after all, if the work is to be satisfactorily done, it cannot be left to such agencies alone, and a good deal of additional assistance of an unpaid and voluntary kind will be required. But to keep up a supply of people at once willing and competent to join in such work is a matter of no little difficulty, and will need a stronger sense of Christian duty and self-sacrifice than is, perhaps, to be found generally in the leisured classes.

Secondly, if the ideas of the Commissioners are to be carried out, those taking part in the work of Public Assistance, whether as representatives of the public, as officials, or as volunteers, will have to be both more intelligent and more specially trained for their task than they usually are at present. To hunt out the causes of failure and disaster, whether in an individual or a class, to bring remedial measures to bear on the sufferers, to induce the sufferers to adopt, acquiesce, and persevere in remedial measures, will require a combination of firmness, tact, knowledge, and acumen not always (we might say not very often) to be met with in the same individual; but if the system is to be satisfactorily carried out all the country over a veritable army of individuals thus gifted will be needed. The objection is not indeed a fatal one—it may be met and

overcome; but its existence does at least suggest that the public, in setting out to become a kind of 'universal providence,' will be undertaking a large task, one which should not be entered upon without preparation and some previous experience in those who are to carry it on; and if volunteers, whether district visitors or others, are to be called in, as assuredly they must be, to take part in the work, they will have to recognize their own possible shortcomings and want of knowledge, and steps must be taken, so far as possible, to remedy and remove these.

A third objection to the scheme propounded is more fundamental and important, and may well prove fatal to the adoption of it. Will the people who are to be assisted, those, at least, who are to be assisted in their own homes, submit to the amount of direction, supervision, and inspection which will have to be exercised over them, and that partly at the hands of amateurs? No doubt the scheme, as outlined by the Commissioners, stops far short of the amount of interference which would be requisite under any system of socialism; in this respect it is a great improvement on such systems. No one is to be dragooned, or even advised, who has not so far mismanaged his own affairs, or who has not been so unfortunate, as to be forced to apply to the public for assistance. Yet the experience of the Charity Organisation Society and the ill-repute in which, in spite of its many excellences, that Society is too often held, suggest that a system of mixed legal and voluntary assistance extended throughout the whole country would find many opponents, and is still a long way from commanding that general assent and approval without which even the best devised plan of social reform must inevitably be a failure. While, again, it is quite possible and most desirable to bring the Public Assistance Authorities and voluntary agencies into closer relations, and to define their relative spheres more clearly, would-be reformers must not fail to recognize that some choice and freedom of action must be left to those who are to be assisted, and that it is only within very narrow limits that resort can be had to anything like compulsion.

V.

Let us turn now to consider the nature of the machinery which the Commissioners would set up for carrying out the delicate and difficult task on which they wish the country to embark.

They propose in the first place to increase the powers already vested in the Poor Law (or as for the future it is to be called, the Public Assistance) division of the Local Government Board, and that in two directions. First, the Local Government Board is to have a more direct position of initiative and guidance than it has had hitherto; secondly, its inspectors are to be more carefully chosen, to have more authority, and to have associated with them assistant inspectors to relieve them of some of their more routine and less important duties. Both these recommendations seem judicious. No small part of the incompetence, confusion, and, in some cases, corruption, which have signalized the administration of Boards of Guardians in the past, have been due to their being left with too free a hand, and to the Local Government Board having no sufficient power either of initiative or of control. Under the new system, where more initiative will be required, and where greater co-operation between different agencies will have to be secured, it will be doubly necessary to have an initiating, co-ordinating, and in some cases compelling, central power to look after it.

Their second proposal is that the existing Boards of Guardians should altogether disappear and their place be taken by newly constituted Public Assistance Authorities and Public Assistance Committees. The first of these (which follow largely the analogy of the Education Committees of the county councils) are to be statutory committees of the county and county borough councils, appointed as to half their members from within the councils themselves, while as to the other half, though nominated by the councils, they are to be chosen from outside those bodies from persons experienced in the local administration of Public Assistance, and a certain proportion of them are

to be women. The areas over which the Authorities are to preside are to be counties and county boroughs. Two considerations commended the county to the Commissioners as the area over which the Authority should preside. In the first place, the selection of so wide an area seemed to the Commissioners likely to secure for the members of the Public Assistance Authority freedom from that local influence which had in their judgement been so detrimental to the satisfactory working of Boards of Guardians under our existing system ; in the second place, this extension of the area rendered possible that better classification of the institutions under the control of the Public Assistance Authority to which they attach, and rightly attach, the greatest possible importance. Besides this, as the finances of Public Assistance of whatever kind are to be in the hands of the Authority, the county and county boroughs furnish a convenient, simple, and well recognized rating area.

To the Public Assistance Authority are to be entrusted the provision, organization, supervision, and control of all institutions required for Public Assistance within their area ; secondly, the creation, supervision, direction, and, if necessary, the dissolution of Public Assistance Committees for investigating and deciding applications for assistance, and for dealing with applicants for such assistance within the county ; and, thirdly, to provide the funds by which the institutions are to be maintained and the committees to carry on their work.

While the establishment of such Public Assistance Authorities in the different counties seems an excellent feature in the scheme of the Commissioners, exception may well be taken to their constitution and the mode of their appointment. They are to be nominated bodies, and bodies nominated by the county councils. Now the county councils are already responsible for providing a very large number of committees and members of committees ; is it wise to add so largely to their duties and responsibilities in this respect, and would their nominees be likely to be sufficiently representative of the average feeling of the county ? Would there not be a danger of

their proving too doctrinaire, too little in touch and sympathy with those for whose assistance they are to provide? Would not a directly representative element introduced into these Authorities give them a weight and influence which they might not have without it?

Of the functions of the Public Assistance Authority the most important will be that of constituting and looking after the Public Assistance Committees. These are to take the place of existing Boards of Guardians, but to have even wider duties than those which the Boards fulfil. For they are to make careful enquiry into the circumstances and condition of all persons applying for assistance within their area with a view to ascertaining the cause and nature of their distress, and also to discover whether there be any persons liable for their maintenance, and if they find such persons, to recover from them the cost of the assistance given; they are to decide upon the best method of assisting applicants and to call in, when necessary, voluntary charitable agencies to help them; while, lastly, they are to supervise and administer the institutions of the Public Assistance Authority and such other institutions as the Public Assistance Authority may direct, and periodically to visit all persons in receipt of assistance within their area in their own homes. The committees to whom are to be entrusted these difficult and important duties are to be nominated for the most part directly by the Public Assistance Authority, but are to include in addition a certain proportion of persons (some of them women), skilled in the administration of local assistance, nominated by the urban and rural district councils. We cannot but regret here again, and even more than in the case of the Public Assistance Authority, the absence from these committees of a directly representative element. Such an element associated with other and more expert members would not only give additional weight and authority to the findings of the committees, but would also secure that that side or aspect of the question which appealed most to the public and most faithfully reflected its wishes, and even its prejudices, should find full and adequate expression. Where existing Boards have failed

is not from the presence of representatives upon them, but from the exclusive predominance of these, and we believe that representatives directly chosen for the purpose, if associated with a reasonable number of nominated experts, supervised by an adequate Public Assistance Authority, and controlled, where needful, by the Local Government Board, would make a far more satisfactory committee than one from which the principle of direct representation was absent.

Side by side with the Public Assistance Authorities and Public Assistance Committees the Commissioners wish to call into existence Voluntary Aid Councils and Voluntary Aid Committees. The first of these, to be constituted by lords-lieutenant of counties and mayors of county boroughs, are to contain not only governors and trustees of endowed charities but also members of the Public Assistance Authority, officers of trade unions, and officials of Friendly Societies. Their duties will be mainly supervisory and consultative—the securing of organization and co-operation with the Public Assistance Authority on the one hand and among the various charitable agencies scattered throughout the area on the other, while the actual executive work will be left to the Voluntary Aid Committees. These latter are to be constituted under schemes drawn up by the Voluntary Aid Councils and approved by the Charity Commissioners. The members of these committees will belong to the same classes from which the members of the Voluntary Aid Council are taken, but will come from the different localities where the different charities are situated. In order to secure co-operation between them and the Public Assistance Committees it is further provided that certain of their members should serve on those committees and members of the Public Assistance Committees with them. It is not contemplated by the Commissioners that such Voluntary Aid Councils and Committees will be able to be called into existence at once. Experiments in this direction will no doubt be tried here and there ; but as the charities which it is sought to co-ordinate and bring into line are independent and voluntary bodies, many of them

even outside of the purview of the Charity Commission, to induce them generally to unite in one joint scheme will certainly be a work of time, and will need no little skill and patience to bring it about. Indeed, the whole plan of the Commissioners, comprehensive and far-reaching as it undoubtedly is, seems often rather of the nature of an ideal to be worked towards than of a measure which it is possible immediately to realize. Yet it is possible to take steps towards it, even of a legislative kind, without undue delay and without exciting any prolonged or any formidable opposition. Increased powers, for instance, might be sought for and conferred on the Local Government Board, which might make maladministration and corruption difficult, if not impossible; Public Assistance Authorities might be set up by law, and would gradually introduce greater uniformity and improved methods of administration in the areas they controlled; Boards of Guardians might be mended, if not ended; classification among the workhouses and public institutions of a county introduced; and initial steps, at least, be taken towards securing that co-operation between public relief and private charity, the entire absence of which is the greatest blot on our existing system. Besides this, there are a number of administrative improvements, chief among them an improved system of granting home relief, and a more effective supervision exercised over those to whom such relief is granted, which the existing authorities could and should adopt without any legislative action at all. Mr. Burns clearly thinks that it is in these, rather than in the more far-reaching schemes which it suggests,.that the chief value of the Report lies. Perhaps he is right; yet we think that, as we have already suggested, a beginning should be made on some of the reforms which will require legislation to effect them.

In one department—the methods namely, of dealing with unemployment—such a beginning has actually been made, and a Bill introduced into the House of Commons. Yet the matter is one which if it is the most urgent is probably also the most difficult to grapple with of all those treated of in the Report, and it is one which will require

the greatest circumspection in handling it. Of the causes which, in the Commissioners' judgement, have led to the present condition of chronic unemployment we have already spoken; it remains to consider the remedies which the Commissioners suggest for meeting it.

VI.

The first two measures recommended by the Commissioners aim not so much at diminishing unemployment as at diminishing the supply of those who are likely to suffer from it. (1) They adopt two recommendations of Mr. Cyril Jackson, the Chairman of the Education Committee of the London County Council, namely, that boys should be kept at school till fifteen, exemption being only allowed if they are being taught a skilled trade; and next, that up to sixteen they should be kept under supervision and made to continue at school unless properly employed. (2) They suggest that our system of elementary education should be so amended as to conduce more directly to industrial efficiency than it has done hitherto.

Next they propose a system of voluntary insurance against unemployment (to be supplemented by a subvention from the State), intended primarily for men of fifty years old and upwards, who under modern industrial conditions are gradually being thrown out of employment, or can obtain only partial employment, and yet are far from the age at which they become eligible for old age pensions. To such insurance funds the men themselves will have, of course, to contribute, but their contributions will have to be augmented out of public resources. The task of financing such funds will, the Commissioners consider, be rendered easier by the existence of old age pensions which fix an age beyond which provision, or at any rate provision on the same scale, need not be made.

Further, the Commissioners attach great importance to the formation of such voluntary Labour Exchanges as the Government are now proposing to create under the control and direction of the Board of Trade. They believe that

such exchanges will not only promote the mobility of labour within the country, directing men who are unemployed but have a good character to places where additional labour is required, but also that, aided by the Board of Trade, they may be able to collect such information, abroad as well as at home, as would enable them to foresee, and to some extent to provide for, periods of trade depression when likely to occur. In connexion with Labour Exchanges the Commissioners make the further suggestion that it would be desirable to have for every public elementary school an intelligence bureau, which would advise parents and teachers as to the branches of employment likely to give the best opening for children leaving school. The establishment of such bureaux would certainly supply a much felt want in our existing educational system.

As a fifth remedy they urge (while recognizing the difficulty of the task) the importance of doing something, even in the most uncertain employments like that of dock labourers' work, to increase the number of those regularly employed and diminish the tale of those who live by casual labour. They think that the Board of Trade might make inquiry to see how this might best be done, and then take initial steps to bring it about.

Lastly, to meet the difficulty of unemployment which arises from the existence of a class of unemployables they propose that the less hopeless of these people should be set to work, but without detention, in an industrial or agricultural institution or colony under the management of the Public Assistance Committee, their families at the same time being maintained, or partially maintained, in their own homes or in institutions. The aim is to be to impart habits of industry and perseverance to those who have partially lost or never acquired them. The most hopeless are to be maintained continuously under compulsory detention in a labour-colony established and managed under the Home Office.

The Commissioners quite admit that unemployment has grown to such serious dimensions and has assumed such a permanent form that it is not likely, were all the plans

recommended by them to be adopted, to disappear either immediately or completely; but the first two suggestions would do something to cut it off at its source, the last to curtail the most permanent of the elements which create it, while the intermediate measures, and still more the revival of trade, should cause much of the fluctuating but not irremediable unemployment to disappear. Probably it is to a sustained revival of trade, if such a phenomenon is possible, that we must look in the immediate future for any considerable diminution of the present dearth of employment. Therefore it behoves the Government to be very careful to do nothing, whether by its financial arrangements or otherwise, to throw obstacles in the way of such a revival. The Chancellor of the Exchequer by rash words, by rash, ill-considered, ill-digested measures, has already done so much to scare confidence away and to drive capital to look for investment outside of the country, that it is doubtful whether he has not done more harm to the prospects of the working classes, whose interests he professes to champion, than he has done good by his Old Age Pensions Act, which he introduced without consideration of the sources from which the money it would cost was to be drawn. The Conservative Party, it is true, must be regarded as partly responsible for the difficult and even disastrous position in which we find ourselves; the least that the country can expect of them is to see that the taxes which have now to be raised be so adjusted that not more than the necessary amount be taken from the pockets of the taxpayers, and that the sums to be obtained be obtained in the way which will be least injurious to trade and confidence.

Viewing the Report as a whole one cannot but be struck with its monumental character. The diligence and thoroughness with which Lord George Hamilton, his colleagues, and their associates, have examined and marshalled the facts are beyond praise; so, too, are the fairness, the impartiality, and the clearness with which they have exhibited alike the merits and the defects in our existing system. The analysis they have made of the chief features in our present economic condition and their historical survey of the causes which

have produced it are alike acute and suggestive, nor have they shrunk from putting their finger on the weak spots and saying to a generation only too prone to applaud itself and rest content with things as they are, 'Thou ailest here and here'; and if the remedies which they suggest seem to us sometimes too heroic and too far beyond the resources which as yet we possess to be carried out successfully in their entirety, yet no one can deny their thoroughness, their coherence, and their completeness. Everywhere they seem to point to a distant goal to be aimed at; in many directions they indicate lines which legislative action may profitably follow; and over and above this there are to be met with throughout the Report suggestions for administrative reforms which, if carried out in the spirit in which the Commissioners would have them undertaken, would go far to redress most of the evils from which our Poor Law system is now suffering. For, if we cannot say that 'whate'er is best administered is best,' it remains true that a bad or indifferent system well administered is superior to a better system administered ill. This principle is not without application to the more far-reaching and revolutionary proposals of the Report of the Minority, which may, perhaps, be considered in a later article.

W. A. Spooner.

Art. IV.—WESTMINSTER IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY: OSBERT OF CLARE

1. *Epistolae Herberti de Losinga, Osberti de Clare, et Elmeri prioris Cantuariensis.* Edited by Robert Anstruther. (Brussels. 1846. Also for the Caxton Society, London. 1846.)
2. *On the Origins of the Feast of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary.*) By Edmund Bishop. (London: Burns and Oates. 1904.)
3. *Eadmeri monachi Cantuariensis Tractatus de Conceptione Sanctae Mariae.* Edited by H. Thurston, S.J., and T. Slater, S.J. (Freiburg: Herder. 1904.)
4. *The History of Westminster Abbey by John Flete.* Edited by J. Armitage Robinson, D.D., Dean of Westminster. (Cambridge: at the University Press. 1909.)

The Norman had come and conquered, and he plainly meant to stay. The massive churches rising everywhere proved that, as surely as the castles. Westminster, indeed, had been in front of the time. Its new church was a prophecy; built by the Normanized king, and after the fashion of Jumièges, which had given its abbot Robert to be bishop of London, chief adviser of Edward, and presently archbishop. When the Conqueror arrived the choir of Westminster was ready for his coronation, and the English abbot, winning his favour on that occasion, held his own when others were displaced. The first Norman abbot, who succeeded Edwin in 1071, 'walked not in the ways of his fathers,' and was soon sent back to his old abbey of Jumièges. The next, Vitalis, was a good man from Bernay, a cell of the reformed Fécamp. Then from the abbey of Bec came a favourite pupil of Lanfranc and Anselm, Gilbert Crispin, a high-born Norman, learned and devout, the biographer of Bec's founder, Abbot Herluin. In December 1117, after ruling for thirty-two years, Gilbert was laid in the south walk of the cloister of his building; and there in the new cloister of the fourteenth century his time-worn effigy can still be seen. King Henry was abroad, and the abbey remained

vacant. Next year the good Queen Maud, as the chroniclers constantly call her, was buried near King Edward's grave before the high altar. But still the king had not returned. When at last he crossed in November 1120, the White Ship sank with all his hopes. In January 1121 Herbert the almoner was appointed abbot, the first monk of the house to be chosen for more than seventy years.

Of Herbert we know little. The monastic historian Flete tells us that he was a Norman. Perhaps he followed Gilbert from Bec, for one of Gilbert's earliest charters is attested by Herbert the monk. If so, he was past middle age when he became abbot. The prior, a younger man, full of zeal and energy, had been passed over. This was Osbert, a native of Clare in Suffolk, who is by far the most conspicuous representative of Westminster for the next thirty or forty years, notwithstanding his enforced retirement from his monastic home during most of that period. Osbert's history has yet to be written. A few facts are to be gleaned from the Westminster muniments, but the main story must be gathered from his extant letters, which have hitherto been only incompletely edited. We first catch sight of Osbert in the early years of Abbot Herbert's rule. We have a letter of his written to Hugh, the prior of St. Pancras at Lewes, before he was transferred in 1123 to King Henry's new monastery at Reading. Osbert, who writes from Ely, is already in trouble, and speaks of himself as 'proscriptus.' After discoursing largely on friendship, he recalls a visit which, in company with two of his brethren, Gregory and Godefrid, he had paid to Hugh in days gone by. He describes the warmth of his reception and the eternal friendship which at once sprang up between them. Then, after an elaborate exposition of a passage of Zechariah, he turns to speak of his present situation and uses language which ought to help us to understand his career. Unfortunately, like much else of his writing, it is capable of more than one interpretation.

As the passage has not yet been printed, it may be given here. Towards the close of his letter, which, as he says,

has run to an inordinate length, he returns to his starting-point, the subject of friendship:

'Scriptum namque est: *Si habes amicum, in temptatione posside illum.* In temptatione itaque mea ad te recurro, quem fidelem et pium invenire non diffido. Quod si mea olim coram rege praevaluisset electio, in tribulationibus meis ad te mea fuisset conversio. Sed quia rex me blanditiis et precibus delinivit ut aliquamdiu ecclesiae nostrae cederem et Eliensem ecclesiam ad quam missus sum visitarem, acquievi voluntati ejus et satisfeci imperio. Nunc ibi positus multociens per gratiam dei sentio amicos quos aliquamdiu familiares pertuli inimicos: qui me amplius infestaverant, modo revocarent si possent.'

Now this may simply mean that when he was sent away from Westminster his preference would have brought him to Lewes as a retreat from his enemies: 'If my choice had at that time prevailed with the king, then in my troubles it is to you that I should have turned: but the king with smooth entreaties urged me to leave our church for a while and visit Ely, to which I was sent: I acquiesced, and have found old enemies turning to friends and desirous if they could to have me back.' It is, however, hard to see why the king should trouble himself about a Westminster monk; unless, indeed, there was a strong party who were anxious to make him abbot, and perhaps had even gone so far as to get him elected.

Let us look at the passage in this light. Let us suppose that the monks claimed to exercise their canonical right of free election. St. Albans had done so in 1119, and had gained the king's consent to the election of Geoffrey, a learned monk of that abbey. With this example before them, and with Osbert as their leader, who strongly insisted on ecclesiastical rights, the monks of Westminster were not very likely to remain three years without attempting to elect some one in the hope of obtaining the royal approval. Osbert's learning, ability and zeal might make him seem a not unworthy successor to Abbot Gilbert. But there may have been a party which preferred Herbert, especially if he had come with Gilbert from Bec. The king waits for his return to England, and then chooses Herbert. 'If my

election,' says Osbert, 'had prevailed with the king'—so far all is plain, and the words receive their most natural meaning. But a difficulty arises in what follows: 'in my troubles I should have turned to you.' What would his troubles have been if his hope had been fulfilled? Possibly he knew that his seat would not be an easy one. It is certain that he was an eager ecclesiastical politician, belonging to the rising school which carried on the Anselm tradition; and he had enemies within the monastery and outside who represented him to the king as a dangerous man. We cannot then exclude the possibility of a frustrated election, even if we cannot find sufficient grounds to confirm the supposition. We must leave the matter in uncertainty, satisfied to have learned this much at least, that in those early years Osbert was of sufficient importance to have called for the king's interference with his plans.

Ep. xii., which is written to Abbot Herbert, throws some light on the immediate cause of Osbert's banishment. We must suppose that internal troubles in the monastery had called for the king's interference, for clearly Osbert was too strong for Herbert. This letter is written in self-justification and as a plea for restoration. But it is throughout the letter of an equal, though the writer protests a readiness for any obedience consistent with his self-respect. He begins by suggesting that the abbot has made sufficient use of the pointed end of his pastoral staff, and should now rescue his lost sheep with the crook. He has had wine enough in his wounds, and is ready for a little oil:

'If I have done anything, whether unwise or wise, that has displeased you, it was not of envy or malice, but of simplicity; and the simplicity which provoked you to anger daily washes my face with floods of tears. Not that my conscience accuses me of having purposely sought your harm, but because I dread a father's curse, however incurred. My race is not sprung of the race of Ham, who mocked to behold his father's nakedness. Let Joshua come and convict me of Achan's sacrilege, or Phineas of Midianitish adultery. Do you, the avenger of crimes, draw Solomon's true sword, and delay not to restore the son to his own mother.'

After further Scriptural allusions he goes on to plead for a dispassionate judgement.

'This, my father, you have not given me. The bad advice of certain persons whose envy makes them mad against me has prevented you from doing justice. A public prejudice has been formed against me, whereas I have always offered to submit to judgement and justice. All reconciliation has been refused me, the sentence of Catholic truth has been denied to me. I do not put this to your account, reverend father; it is due to the instigation of others. Charges utterly false have been trumped up against me.'

Then Gregory and Augustine are quoted, and a new plea from Scripture is adduced. Then he proceeds:

'It seems to have been determined of me, as of the blind man in the Gospel: because he wished truly to confess Christ, therefore he was put out of the synagogue. And because I wished that the senate of the church should be unimpaired and ecclesiastical laws be in all things enforced, I was condemned as a criminal of the deepest dye, stamped as a base traitor, and rendered infamous by you throughout the world. But that treachery could be proved by no argument, save that in face of the dilapidation of the church, the starving of the servants, the ruin of the monastic buildings, roofs out of repair, meals of the seniors cut down, the resources of the treasury diminished, walls and battlements broken and ruined, all that the brethren needed indiscreetly wasted by alien hands without your knowledge—in face of all this I could not hold my peace; and this I disclosed at your bidding to those who made inquiry; and you yourself are evidence enough, since what I in mere words simply related is now plain to be seen in works of reparation in each case. Thanks be to God and to you, you have already repaired, and are still repairing, restoring and making anew, old breaches and new gates in the walls—and would that the moral kept pace with the mural repairs.'[1]

After this somewhat unruly eloquence, he reminds the abbot that we all are mortal, and that he will ere long have to render his account for Osbert's loss to the flock, which has come from no straying on his part, but from violent

[1] Restauras et innovas veteres et novas scissuras et portas murorum; utinam et morum.

ejection. Then he pleads the Good Shepherd's love, and promises that he will ever both openly and in secret be faithful to his abbot :

'I am still ready with obedience and humility to honour you as a father, support you as a mother, to shew you friendship pure and true, and without loss of my own self-respect to receive your paternal discipline. . . . You may have me as a second self, in trouble and in prosperity an eager helper and a faithful friend.'

This letter gives us a tantalizing glimpse of the contemporary state of the abbey. It is strange to be told that Edward's church was in a ruinous state after fifty years ; but we must allow for a little exaggeration in the reformer's report. When he speaks of the privileges of the whole body and of ecclesiastical rights, he may be touching on the freedom of election, for which he would doubtless have stood ; or he may refer, partly at least, to matters of internal economy. He plainly accuses the abbot of negligence, and others of waste and worse. It looks as if the king had been invoked, and a formal inquiry held ; and in the issue the abbot had undertaken to set his house in order, if Osbert could be provided for elsewhere. Osbert therefore was sent on some mission to Ely, and the king may have half-promised to do something for him.

The language of *Ep.* xix. has so many points of contact with that of *Ep.* xii. that it seems likely that they were written about the same time. Osbert writes to a certain Henry, a presbyter, a relation of his, who had been a close friend, but whom he now accuses of having in return for many favours basely contrived his expulsion, proscription and exile. Banished from one church he has come to another. Instead of expulsion, he has found a thousand embraces, welcomes and solaces from friends. Exile has been turned into home. This accords with the early days of his reception at Ely.

He then goes on to allude to Ahitophel and David, to Doeg and Ahimelech. His crime has been the defending of the sacred place and the faithful guarding of the brethren.

To have wished that the rights of the church should be unimpaired; to have succoured the needs of the household of faith; to have shewn hospitality to Christ's brethren; to have fed the people of the Lord with the shewbread in a daily meal [1]—this is his shame and disgrace.

No wonder, he continues, that he has been betrayed by the followers of Judas, who betrayed the Master whose disciple he professes himself to be. His passion began in his Lord's passion, at the same sacred season, in the very same days.

After this he has much to say on friendship, true and false, quoting Seneca, Horace and St. Paul. Then he applies to Henry a passage from one of St. Jerome's letters,[2] modifying and adapting its language at the close. Where St. Jerome says that for three years he had borne with his detractors, Osbert says: 'For more than two years I passed my life with them in the cares of office. Yet in such a manner was I set over them, that I hesitated not to be under them, after the fashion of Him who came not to be ministered unto.' Earlier in the letter he has spoken of himself as having been 'prior ecclesiae'; so that it is important to fix the period to which this letter belongs.

'A great throng,' he continues, 'of monks and clerks, often of virgins and widows, and sometimes of women of the world, often too of citizens, came around me; to whom partly in the church and partly in the chapter-house I oftentimes expounded as I could the law of God, and ministered with Ahimelech the shewbread to the household of David. The pleasure of the word spoken had produced constant attendance, constant attendance familiar acquaintance, and familiar acquaintance confidence. Let them say what they ever found in me which befitted not a Christian. If the whole charge be brought up, for which I am stamped with infamy, it is, as I have said above, that I wished the senate of the church to remain unimpaired.'

After this he quotes Boethius, and presently he returns to his topic and says: 'God knows that I never wished for office, save for the common good of God's people; and when

[1] Another allusion to Ahimelech, 1 Sam. xxii.

[2] *Ep.* xlv. *Ad Asellam* (*Vallarsi*, ed. 1766, i. 195).

serious and cruel discords began to grow up, with a firm mind I migrated to another place.' There he has found great joy and happiness; though indeed he is ready to die for and in Christ, for whom he has ever determined uprightly to live.

He warns Henry that death spares not the royal or the wealthy, or the fat and well-favoured. He bids him therefore repent. At the outset of his letter he had said that he wrote with great unwillingness, being at peace and loth to recall the thought of his enemies; but he was urged to write, however briefly, by some who had come from the place where Henry was. At its close he says: 'I am told that you wish to see and speak with me. If you make any advance at all towards me, I will meet you wherever you may summon me to come.'

Another letter (*Ep.* xxvii.) may be assigned to this earliest period of Osbert's banishment. It is written to a brother monk at Westminster, who has come to a better mind and regrets the treatment which Osbert has received. The letter opens with a greeting from which the names of sender and of recipient are designedly omitted, and there is an evident desire for secrecy.[1] He begins by extolling the blessings of a good conscience, and encourages his penitent friend to persevere on the better path. Then he enters on an elaborate comparison of his sufferings with those of Joseph, who was sold by his envious brethren:

'Though it was not through my merits, but by your common choice, that the care of your souls was in due accordance with rule assigned to me, yet without rule, order or right, proscribed, sold, expelled, banished from home and from the senate of brothers and monks, you thought to send me into Egypt. But by God's grace the Egyptians are already paying me tribute. For God hath increased me with Joseph[2] in a strange land. Excellent, I say, is that loss, which has already gotten me many gains. For you are dwelling in the land of Canaan, where you have famine of this life and the next, and are in constant turmoil from

[1] It opens thus: 'Salus in exordio amico praemittitur, nullius characteris nota signata.'

[2] He has already explained that Joseph signifies 'augmentum.'

internal strifes. Canaan means emulation, or, as some say, commotion. I exhort and admonish you that you come out of bitter emulation and emulous commotion, and hasten on the right way where conscience calls. Come out, I say, of the emulation that has conceived iniquity against me. For he whom you sold into Egypt is already ministering corn with Joseph; ministering it not under Pharaoh's rule, but under Christ the Lord. His part is to deal out to many the word of God by speech and writing, and with the senators of the land to receive praise and favour in the gates. Return, brothers, return (if indeed ye be brothers) to a right mind; for ye have transgressed as against me the commandment of the Lord. For I am your flesh and your brother. Not for myself do I write thus, but for those who have sinned against me. For their pardon I pray daily on bended knee. I implore God's mercy that He impute not to them the offence which they have committed against me. For if I have endured aught of affliction, it has been at the demand of my sins.

'Now therefore, beloved brother, to whom especially I commit this warning, thanks should have been multiplied and brought back to you by my brother, unless I had thought to multiply them more usefully at a more secret place and time. Follow God's inspiration and the truth of your own heart; for whether you do what you have said or whether you refrain, I shall always love you. In this my exile, in the spiritual martyrdom of my conflict, I will say with my Christ and will pray with my Lord, Father forgive them, for they know not what they do. For Thou searchest the reins and the heart, Thou art my witness, Thou knowest my conscience, that I desire nought in respect of them save that they turn and repent, that through Thee they may be reconciled for Thy sake, and that they and I together may be able to reconcile ourselves to Thee.

'Farewell, brother; yea, may all my friends and brothers fare well; and may they understand what revenge I ask from God on those who have ministered to my ruin. Let not the interpretation of your name pass from your memory; for if you have been *strong-handed* to evil (which God forbid), in irony and by antiphrasis you shall be accounted by another word, *desirable*.'[1]

[1] Interpretatio nominis tui ne decidat a memoria tua; quia, si manu fortis ad malum (quod absit) extiteris, ironice et per antiphrasin alio censeberis vocabulo desiderabilis.

So the letter closes with a word-puzzle, of which the interpretation is to be found in Jerome's Index of Hebrew names.[1] It is evident that Osbert is comfortably placed and enjoying the free exercise of his spiritual gifts, a prophet acceptable away from home. This points to the early days at Ely. In after years his letters are full of complaints about his poverty and isolation.

We may take it that the three letters (*Epp.* xii., xix., xxvii.) may all be dated before 1123. We learn from them that Osbert had been for more than two years in the office of prior, having been appointed probably during the vacancy; that he had displayed extraordinary zeal and activity, and had won considerable popularity as a preacher and spiritual guide; so that he might well have cherished hopes of the abbot's place. Indeed he may have been, if not formally elected, yet informally chosen by his brethren and commended to the king. Be this as it may, Herbert, who was doubtless his senior by many years, was appointed on the king's return. Osbert with his zeal for reform proved too much for him. He was sent away to Ely, the king supporting those who demanded his removal.[2]

We may follow Osbert to Ely, if only to recall the name of another monk of Westminster whom he may possibly have known. Ely had no abbot for the last seven years of the Red King's reign. Richard FitzGilbert was appointed at once by the new king Henry; but he had a troublous time until a visit to Rome had secured him in his seat. He finished the new church, so far as to be able to translate the body of St. Etheldreda in 1106. At the same time three other saints were translated, and one of

[1] David : fortis manu sive desiderabilis (Jerome, *de nom. hebr.*).

[2] The ambiguity of Osbert's language, in the passage of his letter to Abbot Herbert quoted above, leaves room for a somewhat different interpretation of events. If the word 'visitarem' be taken, as it perhaps should be, in a strict and formal sense, it would appear that Osbert was sent officially by the king ('ad quam missus sum') to 'visit' the church of Ely on his behalf. His violent ejection, of which he complains to the abbot, may in that case have come later, after he had returned from his mission and had begun to urge reforms at home. He may then have returned to Ely, where he had evidently made friends.

these, St. Withburga, was discovered to have remained untouched by time. A brother from Westminster was present, who doubtless had seen the uncovering of the incorrupt body of Edward a few years before, when none but the venerable Bishop Gundulf had ventured to remove the face-cloth.[1] 'A certain senior of the apostolic fold of Westminster, Warner by name,[2] one of the many who had come on this occasion, with a marvellous boldness of faith drew near and touched the virgin limbs, lifted the flexible joints of feet and hands and arms, and proclaiming the wonderful works of God drew many to the sight.'

This scene still lived in many memories when Osbert came to Ely; but much of a more serious nature had happened since. In 1108 the abbey had been made into a bishop's see, and when its properties were divided the prior and his monks bitterly complained that their portion was far too small for their full number of seventy-two. We must hope, however, that St. Etheldreda helped to rectify their lot, for her new shrine was the scene of many wonderful cures. Osbert was a hearty believer in her powers; and years afterwards he writes the monks of Ely a letter, in which after his manner he styles himself 'consenator capitolii eorum,' and tells them a story of St. Etheldreda's appearance in a humble wooden church which bore her name, at Hissington, a little village far away on the confines of Montgomeryshire and Shropshire.[3]

Osbert's gratitude for his kindly reception at Ely finds further expression in a letter on the Armour of Chastity (*Ep.* xl.), written to Adelidis, abbess of Barking. This lady (Adeliza, Adelicia, or Alice) was the daughter of Pain FitzJohn, one of King Henry's 'new men,' and she appears as abbess about 1136, the dates of her accession and her death being uncertain. Osbert sings the praises of St.

[1] Osbert, in his Life of St. Edward, tells the story of the opening of his tomb in 1102.

[2] Boston of Bury speaks of Warner, a monk of Westminster (fl. 1092), as a writer, but he cannot name his works.

[3] *Ep.* xxxiv.: The story had been told him by Osbert, prior of Daventry (c. 1135).

Etheldreda, 'who gave hospitality to me, a pilgrim and a stranger.' He is in hope of a return to his home; he has humbly asked of the saint 'a licence of departure'; by her merits he will escape the perils of the sea and find favour with the prince in a foreign land.

The king was so much of his time in Normandy that this last reference gives us but little help towards fixing the date of this letter. The subsequent history will make it probable that Osbert's crossing to Normandy was about the end of 1133.

Indeed, it will be convenient to deal at once with the question of Osbert's return to Westminster. *Ep.* xvi. is addressed to Athalwold (or Adelulf), the first bishop of Carlisle. Osbert congratulates him on his new dignity, claims him as a relation, speaks of himself as 'proscriptus,' and urges him to take up his cause, 'which is the cause of many.' Now Adelulf was consecrated at York on August 6, 1133. The king left England just about this time, and seems to have been at Rouen, for the most part, until shortly before his death on December 1, 1135, Adelulf had been the king's confessor, and probably followed him to Rouen without much delay. We find him attesting a Lincoln charter there.[1]

We shall find Osbert back again at Westminster as prior early in 1134. We may therefore assume that Adelulf championed his cause, and that Osbert was sent for, and 'found favour with the prince in a foreign land,' in accordance with his prayer to the holy queen of Ely.

We have now to speak of an incident in Osbert's career which lies midway between his ejection and his return. A letter to Abbot Anselm of Bury (*Ep.* viii.) is fixed by two references to the period between January 22, 1128, and the last days of 1129. Gilbert the Universal is bishop of London, and the earlier date is that of his consecration; and Hugh is still abbot of Reading, and his promotion to the archbishopric of Rouen occurred at the end of 1129. The subject of the letter is the Festival of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin. Mr. Edmund Bishop has pointed

[1] *English Historical Review*, October 1908, p. 726.

out that this festival was observed in the English Church before the Conquest, and that the observance had become obsolete and the very fact of it forgotten, at any rate in prominent ecclesiastical circles, at the time of which we are speaking.[1] Osbert regards Abbot Anselm as the introducer of what is to him a happy novelty, and naturally supposes that Anselm must have brought it from Rome ; indeed, he is dismayed when its opponents condemn it on the ground that Rome knows nothing of it.

'When the festival of that day was being celebrated by us in the church of God, some followers of Satan denounced the thing as ridiculous and unheard of. In their envy and spite they got hold of two bishops who happened to be in the neighbourhood, Roger and Bernard, and roused their indignation at this new-fangled celebration. These bishops declared that it had been prohibited in a council and must be put an end to as an untenable tradition. We, however, persisted in the services of the day which we had begun, and completed the glorious festival with triumphant delight. Then my rivals and those who bite like dogs in envy at the good things of other people, who are always trying to get their own follies approved, and bring into disrepute the words and deeds of the religious, . . . shooting at me the arrows of a pestilent tongue, declared that a festival could not be maintained whose origination lacked the authority of the Roman Church.'

Osbert goes on to record his own defence of the festival, and urges Anselm to take counsel with such sound and learned theologians as Gilbert and Hugh, the latter of whom actually observes the feast at Reading at the king's own request. He also specially appeals to Anselm himself to say from his intimate knowledge of Roman customs whether any favourable argument can be drawn from that quarter.

The thick darkness which has hitherto shrouded Osbert's personal history has concealed a curious difficulty which attaches to the incident above related. It was natural to assume that the celebration of the festival took place in the abbey church of Westminster, where Osbert was the

[1] *The Bosworth Psalter*, pp. 43 ff. ; and more at length in *Origins of the Feast of the Conception, passim.*

prior. Bishop Roger of Salisbury, one of the most powerful men in the state, and Bishop Bernard of St. Davids, a busy prelate who had been chaplain to Queen Maud, might easily happen to be together in London. But now that we know that Osbert was 'proscriptus' before 1123 and was 'proscriptus' still in 1133, the matter is not so straightforward. We may observe that Osbert does not actually name Westminster, but says 'in ecclesia Dei.' It may be possible to find out where the two bishops happened to be on December 8, 1127 (or possibly 1128), and so fresh light may reach us.

With our present information we can but say that the whole tenor of the letter points to Westminster as the scene of this interesting liturgical innovation; and to account for Osbert's presence, we must suppose either a return (of which we have no hint elsewhere) followed by a fresh 'proscription'; or perhaps with more probability a visit paid to Westminster for the express purpose of assisting at this function.

The story of this revival of the Festival of the Conception at Westminster brings us into touch with larger problems, and affords us a glimpse of the ecclesiastical politics of the day. It is to be remembered that Lanfranc had purged the calendar of his cathedral church at Canterbury almost with the severity of a sixteenth-century reformer. Anselm in a famous instance had stayed his hand, and when he became archbishop several festivals came back. But this was not of the number, though a confusion with his nephew and namesake has long credited Anselm with its revival. Lanfranc and Anselm stand for two policies in English Church life. The struggle over the investitures was bound to come, but it is inconceivable for Lanfranc's time or Lanfranc's temperament. The saintly churchmanship of Anselm wrought for the independence of the Church in England; but it was an independence which involved a more immediate dependence on Rome. The Hildebrandine reform had its vigorous adherents in the years that followed; but the king knew what was at stake, and found ways of checking the more ardent churchmen. However strict the

new legislation against marriage might be, the clergy knew that the king might be counted on to let them keep their wives. The Council of London in 1129, which legitimized this Festival of the Conception, is chiefly famous for its stern decrees against clerical matrimony; but that question was once more settled only on paper.

Abbot Anselm of Bury, to whom Osbert writes the letter from which we have quoted, was a conspicuous figure on what might be called the 'high church' side of that day. Osbert regards him as the chief promoter of the Festival of the Conception, and implores him to press for its secure recognition. Bishops Roger and Bernard represent the broader school, the supporters of the royal policy in general. Mr. Edmund Bishop hints that the opposition to the Westminster function came from St. Paul's.[1] He reminds us that the dean was the nephew of the bishop who had just died, Richard de Belmeis; and that the same dean quashed Anselm's election to the bishopric a few years later, by withholding his assent when the great majority voted for him. It is significant that Osbert speaks of the opposition of those who are always envious of the good things of 'religious' men.

Osbert's further exertions in connexion with the Festival of the Conception belong to a somewhat later period, but it will be best to deal with them here. He wrote a discourse intended to stir the minds of the faithful on occasions of its celebration; and this he sent with a dedicatory letter to Warin, the dean of Worcester. It is to be noted that, whereas Osbert himself believed in the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin, he does not introduce this doctrine into his discourse; and in his letter to Warin he says that he dares not utter all that he knows, lest he should be casting pearls before swine and drawing on himself the malice of his enemies who accuse him of departure from the orthodox faith.

Osbert was encouraged to send this discourse to Worcester by the favourable reception which had been given to a series of lections and hymns which he had composed

[1] *Origins of the Feast of the Conception*, p. 26.

for the Festival of St. Anne. This unusual festival had been introduced into the church of Worcester, where it was kept with special solemnity, the bishop providing a pittance on the day itself, and the dean on the octave. Osbert's liturgical efforts have been preserved to us, but have not yet been printed. The letter in which he dedicates them to Simon, bishop of Worcester, has a special interest and helps to fix their date. Simon and his dean, or prior, Warin—for the priors of Worcester were also called deans—had come to the funeral of the abbot of Pershore, and Osbert had met them there. The bishop in full pontificals had embraced Osbert just before proceeding to the altar, and had solemnly required of him this service in honour of the mother of the Blessed Virgin.

Wido, the deceased abbot, had been one of nine whom the rigour of Anselm had deposed at the council held at Westminster in 1102; but like several of his fellow-sufferers he had found his way back, and he was present at Simon's enthronement in 1125. He died in 1137. Osbert at this time was back again as prior of Westminster; but how did he come to be at Pershore?

The answer is to be found in the history of the preceding century. Two of the three hundreds of Pershore had been given to Westminster by Edward the Confessor, into whose hands they seem to have opportunely come through the death without heirs of Earl Odda, whose ancestors had robbed Pershore abbey, and who himself desired that the property should return to the church of Pershore, where he was to be buried. Westminster, however, gained what Pershore abbey lost, and a little church of St. Andrew provided for the Westminster tenants of Pershore still stands on the north of the abbey church there, just as St. Margaret's stands in St. Peter's cemetery at Westminster. Pershore never could forget its injury, and worse was yet to come. For when the abbey fell before the greed of King Henry VIII., the parishioners of St. Andrew bought the great church from the spoiler for 300*l.*, pulled down the nave, which was too large to be kept in repair, and settled themselves into the beautiful Early English choir—with the

result that the patronage of Pershore abbey church belongs at this day to the Dean and Chapter of Westminster.

Osbert's presence at Pershore then needs no further explanation, and his kindly relations with the Pershore monks are also attested by the fact that he wrote a Life of St. Edburga, to whom their church was dedicated.

We must now come back to Westminster, where we find Osbert settled down again as prior in the spring of 1134. To this period belongs the foundation of the canonesses of Kilburn, an undertaking which was probably due to Osbert's zeal. We have already seen him in correspondence with the abbess of Barking, to whom he sent a treatise on the virtues of saintly virgins. Two of his own nieces, Cecilia and Margaret, appear to have entered the religious life in that abbey, and we have letters from Osbert to each of them. Among his female correspondents we also find Ida, the niece of Henry's second queen, Adeliza; and a certain Matilda of Darenta, a nun at Melling.

The foundation charter of Kilburn begins by notifying that Abbot Herbert and Prior Osbert of Clare, with all the venerable convent, with the assent of the Bishop of London, Gilbert the Universal, have given to Emma, Gunilda and Christina the hermitage of Kuneburna, which Godwin built, with all the land of that place. Godwin the hermit concedes it for the souls of the whole convent. The place is to be always in the custody of Westminster. Two grants are made by Abbot Herbert and the convent; one for the repose of all souls of Westminster and Fécamp, the other, that which had been granted to Ailmar for his life, that God would guard the brethren from pestilence and murder. Godwin the hermit is to be warden of the place and of the women till his death; then they are to elect a senior monk with the abbot's advice; but this chaplain must not concern himself with their possessions and affairs unasked. They are to hold their lands as freely as St. Peter holds his. They are also granted thirty out of sixty shillings given by Sweyn, the father of Robert of Essex; and Ailmar the priest gives land in Southwark worth two shillings a year.

There is a supplementary charter by which Abbot

Herbert grants for the soul of King Edward, founder of the church of Westminster, and for the souls of all its brothers and benefactors to the handmaidens of God in the church of St. John Baptist of Keneburna, lands belonging to the manor of Knightsbridge and in the district called Gara (the hundred of Gore).

We learn from a confirmatory charter of Abbot Gervase that they were put in possession of these lands by Osbert of Clare. The occurrence of his name twice in these documents proves that he had no small share in this pious foundation, the primary object of which was to invoke the divine blessing on the mother house of Westminster. Flete tells us that the first three canonesses had been ladies of the bedchamber to the good Queen Maud. But, as she had died in 1118, and as there is no mention of prayers for her soul, we need more evidence before we can accept the statement.

In two of his great projects, the revival of the Feast of the Conception and the foundation of the Kilburn sisters, Osbert in spite of his troubles had achieved permanent success. In a third he was destined to fail, though he may have lived to see it accomplished by other hands, and the credit of it really belongs to him. This third project was the canonization of St. Edward.

King Stephen was crowned at Christmastide 1135. It was an ill-omened day. The archbishop who crowned him died within a year, and no abbot was present at the coronation. It is possible that Herbert absented himself on political grounds; but it is also possible that he was incapable through age, or even that he was dead. We cannot fix the date of his successor's entry; but we know that he got a confirmation of his privileges from the Pope in April 1139. There is some reason to think that the abbey had stood vacant for a while. If Osbert cherished hopes, they were destined to disappointment. King Stephen appointed his natural son, Gervase of Blois, who was a thoroughly bad abbot, as we shall see.

About this time Osbert's pen was busy on his Life of King Edward. This work has never been printed; indeed it had only been known in a summarized form until it was

found in a Passional which was purchased for the British Museum in 1902, and by a curious coincidence on October 13, St. Edward's Day. This book he dedicated to the papal legate Alberic on his arrival in England in the summer of 1138. He also sent a copy to Henry, bishop of Winchester, the king's brother, in the beginning of the next year, urging him to use his great influence in this worthy cause. Henry's letter to the Pope on Osbert's behalf was written after he had become legate, and therefore after March 1, 1139. King Stephen also sent a letter to the Pope, in which Osbert (who probably drafted the letter) is spoken of as having been prior for five years. As the see of London had been vacant since the death of Gilbert the Universal in 1134, Osbert obtained another letter of commendation from the Chapter of St. Paul's[1].

Thus fortified Osbert started for Rome, carrying his Life of St. Edward with him. But the moment was most unpropitious. On June 24, 1139, the king suddenly arrested Roger of Sarum and Alexander of Lincoln at Oxford, and the news must quickly have reached Rome. So too must the further news of the landing of the Empress Matilda on September 30. Pope Innocent II., who had hitherto supported Stephen, would not now be likely to do any favour for his son, the abbot of Westminster. Moreover, Osbert's account of his abbot must have been a sad one. For the Pope wrote Gervase a letter in which he rebukes him for wasting the abbey properties and keeping armed retainers in the abbey, and strictly prohibits the removal or sale of the regalia. This surprising prohibition was probably not unconnected with the arrival of the Empress Matilda. Three other letters were dated from the Lateran the same day (December 9, 1139). One was to the legate Henry of Winchester, bidding him see to the recovery of possessions which the abbey had lost. Another to David, king of Scotland, urging him to complete the arrangements for the anniversary of his sister the good Queen Maud, who was buried in the abbey. The third, and most important, commended the virtues of Osbert the prior, but postponed

[1] Conventus beati Pauli Lundoniae.

the canonization of St. Edward on the ground of insufficient testimonies of bishops and abbots; 'for, since so great a festival ought to be for the honour and profit of the whole realm, it must needs also be demanded by the whole realm.'

This was a melancholy termination of Osbert's mission. Instead of glory, shame covered him, and we can hardly wonder that his abbot should owe him no thanks. We soon find him banished once more; sent to take charge of some small church or community which we cannot locate; miserably poor, and suffering from the tyranny of the 'castles,' so notorious in this unhappy reign; and writing constant begging letters to his friends of former days. He still plied his pen, and perhaps we may assign to this period his Life of King Ethelbert the Martyr, whose body was at Hereford, but whose head was at Westminster; and the Miracles of St. Edmund, which may have been called for by abbot Anselm. But he was a broken man, and suffered from bodily infirmities.

The abbot seems to have been deposed by the Pope in 1146. But he still held on till he was ejected by King Henry II. in the third or fourth year of his reign. Then Osbert suddenly reappears, apparently in the vacancy, attesting a charter of the convent after Elias the prior.

The new abbot, Laurence, who came in about the year 1158, was a man of character and learning. After conference with the king in Normandy, he sent a fresh mission to Rome. Flete says that Osbert was a member of it, but he has inserted his name, apparently without authority, into the narrative of Richard of Cirencester, which he borrows at this point. Osbert, if still alive, was by this time out of date; for at Laurence's request Ailred, the abbot of Rievaulx, a noted pen of that time, was induced to rewrite St. Edward's Life. His work is a *réchauffé* of Osbert's with a few additions, among which is a narrative of how the royal saint cured Osbert himself of a serious sickness.

Alexander III. was favourable to Laurence's request, which was backed by an urgent letter from Gilbert Foliot, the powerful bishop of Hereford, who stood high both with Henry and at Rome, and who represented to Alexander

that the canonization of the saintly king would be a welcome requital for the Pope's recent recognition in England. Accordingly the bull was issued on February 7, 1161, and on Henry's return the saint was translated to a costly shrine on October 13, 1163.

So Osbert's work was done, though the glory of it was denied him. He is a forgotten worthy of the English Church of the twelfth century. He lived in evil days. The tyrannous exactions of Henry's 'new men,' followed by the foolish liberality by which Stephen vainly sought to win universal favour, issued in anarchy. The Church made strides towards independence in the midst of the general confusion, but she lacked spiritual power. She had no saint, though here and there were men who strove to be better than their surroundings. Osbert of Clare was one of these. Learned, active, conscientious, yet pedantic in his style, difficult to work with, and terribly self-conscious, he was his own worst enemy. But he did his work, and left a deeper mark upon his time than others whose names are better known to-day.

J. Armitage Robinson.

Art. V.—THE REUNION PROBLEM: A 'SCOTTISH EPISCOPAL' VIEW.

1. *Certain Tractates, together with the Book of Four Score Three Questions, and a Translation of Vincentius Lirinensis.* By Ninian Winzet. Edited with Introduction, Notes, and Glossarial Index by James King Hewison, M.A., F.S.A.Scot., Minister of Rothesay. Two volumes. (Printed for the Scottish Text Society by William Blackwood and Sons: Edinburgh and London. 1888.)
2. *An Ecclesiastical History of Scotland from the Introduction of Christianity to the Present Time.* By George Grub, A.M. Four volumes. (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas. 1861.)
3. *History of the Scottish Church.* By W. Stephen, Rector of St. Augustine's, Dumbarton. Two volumes. (Edinburgh: David Douglas. 1896.)

4. *History of the Catholic Church of Scotland from the Introduction of Christianity to the Present Day.* By ALPHONS BELLESHEIM, D.D., Canon of Aix-la-Chapelle. Translated, with Notes and Additions, by D. OSWALD HUNTER BLAIR, O.S.B., Monk of Fort Augustus. (Edinburgh: W. Blackwood and Sons. 1887.)
5. *The Scottish Reformation, its Epochs, Episodes, Leaders, and Distinctive Characteristics.* (Being the Baird Lectures for 1899.) By the late ALEXANDER F. MITCHELL, D.D., LL.D., Emeritus Professor of Church History in St. Andrew's University. Edited by D. HAY FLEMING, LL.D. (Edinburgh: W. Blackwood and Sons. 1900.)
6. *The Origins of Scottish Presbytery: an Historical Sketch.* By the Rev. A. MORRIS STEWART, M.A., High Street Free Church, Arbroath. (Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson, and Ferrier. 1899.)
7. *John Knox and the Reformation.* By ANDREW LANG. (London: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1905.)
8. *The Confession of Faith; the Larger and Shorter Catechisms, with the Scripture Proofs at Large.* Printed by Authority. (Edinburgh: Johnstone, Hunter, and Co. 1878.)
9. *Narratives of Scottish Catholics under Mary Stuart and James VI.* Edited by WILLIAM FORBES-LEITH, S.J. (London: Thomas Baker. 1889.)
10. *Conference of Bishops of the Anglican Communion,* 1908. *Encyclical Letter with the Resolutions and Reports.* (London: S.P.C.K. 1908.)

And many other works.

[In order to carry out the advice of the Lambeth Conference that every effort should be made to further the cause of Reunion, especially with the Presbyterian Churches, by conference and study, it is proposed in a series of articles to discuss the Problem of Presbyterianism and Reunion from various points of view.[1] The articles will in each case be

[1] 'The Problem of Reunion in Scotland,' by the Rev. J. Cooper, D.D. (*C.Q.R.*, April 1909). Reference may also be made to the article 'Presbyterianism and Reunion' (*C.Q.R.*, January 1909).

signed, and the writers alone will be responsible for the views put forward.—Ed. C. Q. R.]

One of the most healthy signs of the times is to be found in the disposition so generally shewn among scholars and inquirers to study many things, and especially religious and ecclesiastical problems, in the light of history. In all parts of the Christian world the investigation of origins is a favoured pursuit. And there is no doubt, notwithstanding the difficulties which beset the attainment of accurate historical testimony, that to look at matters in the best historical light which can be brought to bear on them, is a marvellous help to seeing them justly and truly, and a great preservative against mistakes and illusions. A Christian can but remember that it has seemed good to the Holy Ghost that so large a proportion of our sacred oracles should be cast in the form of historical narration; surely here we must see a divinely-given indication of the value of history to the elucidation of the truth.

In considering, then, the question of the possible union of the Established Church of Scotland with the Scottish Episcopal Church,[1] the present writer desires first of all to put the matter in its proper historical setting, especially as he can but think that this view of the matter has hardly received the attention that it deserves.

During the Middle Ages the National Church of Scotland was of the same character as the other National Churches of Western Europe. It was a branch of the Catholic and Apostolic Church in subordination to the Primacy of the Bishop of Rome. The extent of the benefit that had accrued to the Church through its submission to papal domination may perhaps be gathered from the fact that in the sixteenth century it was found to be in a state of moral corruption so outrageous that, did the report of it come to us only through Protestant controversialists, we should

[1] Among the members of this Church there is a widely felt dislike to the use of the term 'episcopal' as its specific designation, on the ground that it is clumsy, inadequate, &c. While the writer shares this dislike, the term will be used in this article in its usually accepted meaning, to avoid circumlocution and possible misunderstanding.

refuse to credit it. Unfortunately the ugly story comes to us, not only from what may be called prejudiced and neutral testimony, but also from the witness of fervent Catholics whose hearts were broken by the wickedness which they denounced.

To enter into this subject at large would be beyond the purpose of the present article; one testimony, beyond suspicion, may be cited as sufficient to shew the condition into which the unhappy Church had lapsed. Ninian Winzet (1518–1592), a priest of ability and learning, Master of the Grammar School of Linlithgow, was expelled from his office for his adherence to the Old Faith in 1560; he went abroad, and died Abbot of the Scottish Benedictine Abbey of St. James at Ratisbon. In 1561 he published *Certane Tractatis for Reformatioun of Doctryne and maneris*, in which he pours forth on the prelates and priests of the Church a flood of scathing, indignant invective.

With withering sarcasm he thus addresses them [1]:

'But whether we should begin your commendation and praising at your holy lives, or at your healthful doctrine, we are in doubt. Since your godly living, garnished with chastity, fasting, prayer, and sobriety, be the worthy fruits thereof (one need say no more!), this is patent to all men. Your merchandize, your simony, your glorious estate, your solicitude by marriage to make the barons scions of your posterity, witnessing to all ages to come of your godliness—who speaks not of it? Your liberality to the poor, your splendid colleges of godly learners in your company, your nourishing of poor students of rich talents, able afterwards to rule the Kirk of God, by wholesome teaching—all countries and colleges do deplore![2] Your godly and circumspect distribution of benefices to your babies, ignorant and filthy asses—every heathen, Turk, and Jew may laugh at it; that being the special ground of all impiety and division this day, within thee, O Scotland! Your wise, sage, and grave familiar servants, void of all vanity, bodily lusts, and heresy, are spoken of to your praise—God knoweth! Your dumb doctrine in exalting cere-

[1] We have ventured to render into modern English the author's vigorous, racy, Scottish vernacular, which would in great part be unintelligible to ordinary educated readers.

[2] Query 'depone.'

monies only, without any declaration of the same, and, far more, keeping in silence the true Word of God necessary to all men's salvation, and your not resisting manifest errors—to the world is known. What part of the true religion by your slothful dominion and princely estate is not corrupted or obscured? Have not many, through lack of teaching, in mad ignorance misknown their duty, which we all owe to our Lord God, and so have sorely stumbled in their perfect belief? Were not the sacraments of Christ Jesus profaned by ignorant and wicked persons, able to persuade others to godliness neither by learning nor by living? Of which number we confess the most part of us of the Ecclesiastical State to have been, in our ignorant and inexpert youth, unworthily by you admitted to the ministration thereof. If the things of most special importance be brought from their purity through ignorance and avarice, what marvel is it that matters of less price, as of images, the invocation of saints to pray for us, the prayer for souls departed, and many suchlike things, lawful when used with sobriety and learned simplicity, be at this time corrupted and profaned contrary to the mind of our ancient elders, by the same vices? Were ye commanded in vain of God, by the mouths of His Prophets and Apostles, to watch attentively and continually over your flocks, and diligently to know the same by face? Or gave the princes of the earth yearly rents to you (as the Disciples in the beginning sold their lands and gave the prices thereof to the Apostles), to the end that every one of you might spend the same upon his dame Dalida and his bastard brood?'[1]

This rather long extract is worth pondering over attentively; for it brings vividly before us the state of religion in Scotland at the time of the great change, as that state appeared to a fervent Catholic, a stout opponent of the triumphant Protestantism.

Before the crash actually occurred, the rulers of the Church were not unconscious of the immorality and ignorance so fiercely denounced by Winzet: Councils were held which passed disciplinary canons, and popular expositions of the Faith were published; but all this came too late. However well a Church may be able to make good its theological and canonical position, what will be its fate in the hour of trial if its reputation be hopelessly discredited

[1] *Certain Tractates*, vol. i. p. 4 *sqq.*

by immorality and ignorance? The Church of Scotland learnt to its bitter cost what the answer must be to this question. Protestant opinions were gaining ground; needy and greedy nobles were fixing covetous eyes on Church property; and so it came to pass that a Parliament which met in Edinburgh in August, 1560, brought things to a crisis. Some four or five bishops sat as members of this Parliament. A petition was presented, signed by various notables, praying for a Reformation of Religion; the Protestant party were requested to lay before Parliament a Confession of Faith; this was done,[1] and it was accepted by a vast majority; the conduct of the bishops present is perhaps the most remarkable feature of the whole proceedings, since they maintained a cowardly silence, only two venturing to speak, and these merely pleaded for delay! The Confession was ratified on August 17; on the 24th, Acts were passed blotting out of existence the Old Church and all that pertained to it, the hearing or saying of Mass being punishable by death for the third offence. Next year the *Book of Discipline*, arranging the government of the new Protestant Church, was authorized, and in this document the *Book of Common Order* (which provides the forms to be used in Public Worship) was recognized as of authority.

The ground being thus cleared, an entirely new Church, of form and pattern unknown to Christendom before the sixteenth century, was set up to take the place of the Church that had been destroyed.

The writer is aware that there are some who object to this way of representing what was accomplished in 1560, and it will be necessary to adduce the historical evidence that seems to warrant this description; but, before doing so, it will be well to enter a *caveat* against a curiously misleading use of the term 'Church,' which is found in some

[1] Professor Mitchell points out that Knox does not say that this Confession was *prepared* in four days (as is sometimes stated), but that it was *presented* four days after it was asked for, which is a different thing. Professor Mitchell agrees with the opinion that the document had been prepared for some time, and was held in readiness to be produced *in tempore opportuno*.—*Baird Lectures*, p. 100.

writers. The term is used as though it might be employed to designate a formless mass of baptized persons. Whether under certain conditions the term might legitimately be so used one need not discuss here; but usually and ordinarily the term 'Church' is intended to signify an *organized* body of believers, and any specific designation attached to it is meant to express some characteristic of that special body which distinguishes it from other Churches. In this, the commonly understood sense of the word, the term 'Church' is used in the present article.

And before going further, it may be well to counsel English students of Scottish Church history to be careful to note the real bearing of the facts which are about to be brought under consideration. That which took place in Scotland differed totally from the proceedings that accompanied any stage of the Reformation in England; but Englishmen are apt to read into Scottish Reformation history ideas and notions derived from the ecclesiastical history of their own country, and so import foreign elements into their conception of Scottish affairs. Hence we sometimes hear something like this:—The ancient Church of Scotland was reformed by presbyters, as the bishops refused to undertake the work; and so the succession of ministers in the Reformed Church of Scotland was continued by presbyters, a thing not without precedent in the Catholic Church of early times.

It is surely impossible to say that history justifies this way of putting matters. The change inaugurated by the Parliament of 1560 cannot with any pretension to verisimilitude be called the Reformation of an ancient Church by Presbyters: it was the destruction of an ancient Church by a body of laymen, with whom were officially associated a small number of persons in episcopal and other Orders, who for the most part dissented from the work of destruction. The Church that was to be destroyed was declared in the Confession of Faith which the Parliament adopted, to be 'the horrible harlot, the Church malignant'; its priests were repudiated as 'no ministers of Jesus Christ'; and by them it was affirmed that the Sacraments were so

adulterated 'that no part of Christ's action abideth in its original purity.' A more explicit repudiation of the old Church could not have been worded. What could be done but to sweep such a Church out of existence? And this was done, so far as it is in the power of man to destroy a religious body possessing any remaining sparks of spiritual life.

And can it be denied, on historical grounds, that the religious establishment which took the place of the Old Church was 'new'? Where in days before the sixteenth century was to be found the type which it represented? It was avowedly modelled on the pattern of the Church of Geneva as organized by Calvin in or about 1540. The new Church retained a certain and most valuable amount of confessional or theological continuity with the old. Though the Nicene Creed was not included among its official documents, the Nicene Faith concerning the Holy Trinity and the Incarnation was set forth in unexceptionably orthodox form in the Confession. But when we come to consider the question of *organic* continuity the case is quite different.

The chief means by which a local or branch Church of the Catholic and Apostolic Church maintains its continuity with the Church in the past, and its essential unity with all Catholic Churches everywhere in the present, is by the continued succession of its ministers, from Apostolic times, in the hierarchy of bishops, priests, and deacons. But how can it be maintained that this continuity was in any sense preserved in the Church of 1560? The very idea of continuity, as being of any value, was repudiated by the Confession, which implicitly condemns the Vincentian test of orthodoxy, *quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus*; and it expressly repudiates the root idea of the Apostolical Succession. The mark of the true Church (says the Confession) is 'neither antiquity, title usurped, *lineal descent*, place appointed, nor multitude of men approving.'

Of the articles in the Confession in which these words occur, the late Principal Lee has said that they 'have been almost as disagreeable to some Episcopalian writers as they were to the most servile adherents of the Pope. It is

thought a most dangerous omission to make no mention [among the notes of the true Church] of uninterrupted succession and conveyance of authority from the Apostles. This omission has been somewhat incorrectly charged against the reformers of our Church. They do certainly mention *lineal succession*, but they mention it only to disown it.' [1]

The principle of 'lineal descent' being thus rejected, we are not surprised to find that in the new Church an organization of ministers was set up which bore no resemblance to the old Catholic hierarchy. The hierarchy inaugurated by the *Book of Discipline* was modelled almost exactly on the Genevan plan, and consisted of ministers, elders, deacons, and doctors. It is not easy to be sure in exactly what sense the terms 'Presbyter' and 'Elder' are applied in official documents to these functionaries; the duties attributed to deacons do not correspond to those assigned to the ministers bearing this title in the Catholic order. Episcopalians have sometimes, somewhat unwisely, tried to make a point in support of episcopacy by claiming the testimony of the first *Book of Discipline* in its favour, on the ground that, beside the orders of ministers enumerated above, it provides for an order of superintendents, whose duty it should be to exercise a certain oversight within prescribed regions; this, it is claimed, was virtually to acknowledge at least the value of an episcopacy. But Professor Mitchell (no mean authority) holds that there is no true analogy at all between the office of superintendent and that of diocesan bishop; the superintendent, he says, was 'completely stripped of all real episcopal power.' [2]

How little those who established the new order of ministers thought that they were continuing the old may be gathered from the fact that the *Book of Discipline* declares that papistical priests have neither power nor authority to minister the Sacraments of Christ [3]; and when some of those thus designated conformed to the new order, they were by no means received as ministers in virtue of their Catholic

[1] Quoted by Professor Mitchell, *Baird Lectures*, p. 115.
[2] *Op. cit.* p. 155. [3] Grub, *Ecclesiastical History*, ii. 96.

Ordination; but, if not thought competent to fulfil the office of preaching elder, they were sometimes graciously allowed to act as readers, an inferior order of officiants supplementary to the regular hierarchy.

It may be rightly asked, If historical facts forbid us to see that organic continuity was maintained between the old order and the new; and if, consistently with this, no claim to be accepted as legitimate was made on behalf of the new hierarchy on the ground of its succession from the Apostles, on what did the Reformers of 1560 base their claim for the members of the ministry which they instituted to be regarded as true ministers of Jesus Christ?

It is not quite easy to answer this question. It must first be remembered that the very highest possible authority was claimed for the ministry of the new Church. Catholic theologians have seldom used loftier language in which to exalt the prerogatives of the old priesthood than that which has been used by Presbyterian divines to set forth the dignity of the ministry of their Church, a ministry (they say) deriving its authority from none other than the Divine Head of the Church, Jesus Christ Himself. But difficulty arises when we try to discover *by what channel* it was thought that the authority of Christ was transmitted to His ministers. It is true that a rite of Ordination is recognized as necessary in the appointment of a minister, but this is so associated with a call from the Church (*i.e.*, election by a congregation), the one seems so bound up with the other, that it seems doubtful whether the ministerial authority were considered to be actually conferred by the one or the other, or by both co-ordinately. Careful reading of the different official statements on this matter leaves one uncertain; one thing, however, is quite certain, *viz.* that no authoritative Presbyterian document even indirectly claims that the powers supposed to belong to the ministry come to it by Apostolic Succession transmitted through the hierarchy of the unreformed Church. No words can be quoted that even remotely imply this.

Perhaps some Presbyterians may have been inclined to give the greater weight to the rite of Ordination, others to

the previous vocation by the Church; certainly the second *Book of Discipline* speaks of Ordination as of the separation and sanctification of a person already 'appointed of God and His Kirk.' A Free Church writer, speaking of Presbyterianism *in genere*, and not of his own form of it *in specie*, says, 'Presbytery is democracy in Church government. Its organization begins with the congregation, holding to the promise of Christ that, even to a congregation of two or three, He gives His presence. The congregation chooses its pastor to minister the Word and Sacraments, and elects elders to oversee, along with him, its spiritual concerns, thus constituting the session.'[1] (In the Established Church, the Kirk session, minister and elders, is usually a self-electing body.) The view here expressed is undoubtedly that extensively held at the present time by Scottish Presbyterians, both within the Established Church and beyond its pale.

Perhaps we should feel no surprise at the indifference shewn by the Reformers of 1560 to the retaining of organic connexion with the Church in the past, if we rightly appreciated the position accorded by them to the Bible. Though it belongs to the next century (1647), the Confession of Faith, which is the present doctrinal standard of the Established Church of Scotland, puts the belief of the original founders of that Church, as to the Bible, very accurately in well-chosen words:

'The infallible rule of interpretation of Scripture is the Scripture itself. . . . The supreme Judge, by which all controversies of Religion are to be determined, and all decrees of councils, opinions of ancient writers, doctrines of men, and private spirits, are to be examined, and in whose sentence we are to rest, can be no other but the Holy Spirit speaking in the Scripture.'[2]

This seems to refuse to acknowledge all determining power, as to the sense of Scripture, to the voice of the Church, or to the testimony of the Fathers, and is in almost verbal contradiction to the sentence of the (Anglican)

[1] *The Origins of Scottish Presbytery*, p. 13. [2] Chap. I., ix. x.

Article XX., that 'The Church hath . . . authority in Controversies of Faith'; and to the requirement of the Canon of 1571 (enacted in the same Convocation which authorized the Articles) that preachers should teach nothing but 'what the Catholic Fathers and ancient Bishops have collected' from the doctrine of the Bible.

The 'Bible and Bible *only*' idea could hardly be more explicitly stated than in the Confession, and we can quite understand that men influenced by this idea (as expressed in the quotation just given) would care little or nothing for what, in accepted Anglican phrase, would be called 'the testimony of antiquity,' and would be quite content with any institution that, in their judgement, was 'scriptural,' whether it were linked with the past or not. A link with antiquity would appear to them to be a negligible quantity. And indeed, to this day, this is the light in which matters appear to the vast majority of believing Presbyterians who are not victims of the 'Higher Criticism'; the plethora of 'Scripture proofs' which garnishes every page of the Confession and Catechisms assures them that their religion is founded on the Bible; and if so, what more do you want? It all comes from the Bible: is not this enough? To these good souls the question of union or reunion comes as something quite foreign to all their religious ideas.

However all this may have been, or may be, it will hardly be affirmed that the way of regarding the means by which Christ transmits His authority to His ministers which prevailed in the Church of 1560 at its inception, and which is by no means obsolete now, is an inheritance from Catholic tradition. But lately we have heard a good deal said, by a learned few among Presbyterians and by others on their behalf, of an Apostolic Succession in the Established Church of Scotland supposed to be transmitted through Presbyters. No trace of any such notion has been produced from the writings of the originators of the Church of 1560, nor from the official documents of that or of any subsequent period. When and where did the notion take its rise? It would be hard to say.

It is clear that Scottish Presbyterianism could not have

brought the idea of a presbyterial succession (through the ministry of the pre-Reformation Church) from Geneva, the land of its birth. A recent writer has made the amazing assertion that 'The first Ordinations in the Genevan congregations could only have been held valid because the ministers who presided over them had themselves received pastoral authority through the unreformed Church.' One would have thought that everyone who knows something of Reformation history would know that Calvin, the hierophant of the Genevan Church, had never received Catholic Orders at all! At the age of twelve he was tonsured in order to enable him to be presented (according to the corrupt practice of the time) to benefices the duties of which he could not fulfil; but he was never advanced to the priesthood. As to Farel, D'Aubigné, in recording his 'ordination' by Oecolampadius, remarks, 'In Farel's Ordination there was no human succession'[1]—meaning, as the context shews, no Apostolical succession.

The idea of a presbyterial succession could not, then, have come from Geneva, nor was it ever advanced by Knox the Patriarch of the new Church of Scotland. True, Knox was a priest in Catholic Orders, but he never put forth this ordination as constituting his right to assume the character of a minister of Christ. On the contrary, he declined to exercise any such function, until, after much persuasion, in 1547, he agreed to accept a 'call' made to him, on behalf of his congregation, by one John Rough, an ex-friar, as Protestant chaplain to the garrison in St. Andrew's.[2] Mr. Lang thus concludes his account of the incident: 'The garrison was, confessedly, brutal, licentious and rapacious, but they "all" partook of the Holy Communion.'!

Ninian Winzet again and again challenged Knox to vindicate his right to act as he did in religion, specially in the matter of Ordinations.[3] Knox contented himself with replying by *obiter dicta* in sermons, but evaded entering into

[1] D'Aubigné, *History of the Reformation*, Book XII., c. 11.

[2] *Baird Lectures*, p. 83; A. Lang, *John Knox and the Reformation*, p. 28.

[3] *Certain Tractates*, I. xxxvii. 15 &c.

the matter fully. Is it conceivable that if he had any idea that as a Catholic Presbyter he could claim the right to ordain, he would have refrained from putting this defence forward when challenged by such a man as Winzet, who, be it remembered, was no brawling controversialist, but a scholar of good reputation?

The supposed precedents adduced from antiquity in favour of succession through Presbyters can hardly be taken seriously. When examined they are found to have no bearing on what was done in Scotland in 1560, or subsequently. It is almost ludicrous to find the well-worn instance of the Alexandrian Church (where Presbyters seem to have exercised unusual powers in the appointment or consecration of their bishop)[1] cited as a justification of 'presbyters' in Scotland doing away with the office of bishop altogether!

But the novel constitution of the ministry was not the only break in organic continuity with the old Church made in 1560. There seems to have been an almost savage determination to make the outward and visible break as ostentatious and far-reaching as possible. When Anglicans hear of the original Presbyterian Church possessing a 'Liturgy,' the *Book of Common Order*, there naturally comes before their minds something resembling their own *Book of Common Prayer*. Let them dismiss any such vision from their contemplation. The English *Prayer Book* is based on the old Catholic order, John Knox's Liturgy (as it is called) is of quite a different character; it is based, so far as it follows any precedent, on the use of Geneva, and the dreary forms which it contains have no affinity with Catholic offices. The Catholic Symbol, the Nicene Creed has no place there; it was discarded in 1560, though subsequently it has received honourable recognition, in more ways than one, by the Established Church. Another break in continuity was made by the complete abolition of the whole cycle of the Christian Year, with its Feasts, Fasts, and Saints' Days.

[1] On the circumstances at Alexandria reference may be made to the discussion in the *Journal of Theological Studies* for July 1901 and January 1902, by Mr. E. W. Brooks and the present Bishop of Birmingham.

And to emphasize still further the break with former traditions, not only were the churches stripped of ornaments supposed to encourage superstition, but all their internal arrangements were completely altered. Every ceremony that recalled the ancient ritual was rigidly proscribed.

This was the state to which the established religion of Scotland was reduced in 1560; it cannot be said that anything done subsequently has seriously modified the settlement then arrived at. A second *Book of Discipline* was promulgated (1581), which aimed at putting into better shape the disciplinary and other regulations of the first book. In 1643-48 was held the celebrated Westminster Assembly, at which was drawn up the Confession of Faith, the Catechisms, the Form of Presbyterial Church Government, and other documents, which were accepted by the Established Church of Scotland in 1645-8 and are still of authority there. But none of these things altered the essential character of the Church which was inaugurated in 1560, nor was that character permanently affected by the sporadic incursions of Prelacy in 1610 and 1661. The Established Church of Scotland to-day is in essential character the Church of 1560.

The Scottish Episcopalian can but feel that the link which, through the Apostolic Succession of the hierarchy, binds his Church in organic continuity with Apostolic Churches of all countries and ages, is a divine gift, a work of the Holy Ghost, a most precious heritage. In tracing back the history of the coming to him of this inheritance, he will be wise if he is content to go no further back, so far as Scotland is concerned, than to 1661, and to the brave band of bishops who led such of their flocks as would follow them out of the Presbyterianized Establishment in 1689-90. There is no need to go further back in considering the local history of the Church. Through the hierarchy which the Act of 1690 disestablished, the Church in Scotland received from England that precious link which binds her in organic unity with the Catholic Church. In England all through the vicissitudes of the Reformation period the continuity of the Church was preserved inviolate: not only was this con-

tinuity claimed (it *was* claimed, and claimed explicitly), but what is perhaps of greater consequence, it was, in all legal proceedings, ecclesiastical or civil, simply assumed as a matter of fact, and acted upon.

Presbyterians are apt sometimes to twit Episcopalians with their ecclesiastical isolation, and to point out that their own system has a far wider acceptance among Christians than what is called 'Anglicanism.' There may be an element of truth in this taunt, but it does not vex the Scottish Episcopalian very grievously; he does not revere and cling to his Church because of any specifically 'Anglican element which it contains, but because the Apostolic Succession of the hierarchy puts his Church into organic union with the Church which belongs to no particular age, but which has been 'from the beginning,' the Holy Church throughout all the world and of all time.

This organic union the Scottish Episcopalian cannot believe to be possessed by the Established Church of his country; he traces back the history of this Church to 1560, where he has to stop, for nothing like it existed in the land before that date. He looks beyond Scotland, and finds here and there other Churches organized on the same lines, but they cannot date so far back as even half a century before 1560. They have no ancestry. He carries his inspection backward through the ages till he comes to the days of the Apostles, to the time of Christ, and he finds no record of the existence of any Church anywhere of the type presented by the established religion of his country. Of late years he knows that some have endeavoured to shew that some links of organic continuity exist between the Church destroyed in 1560 and the Established Church of to-day, but these links seem to him to consist merely of vague inferences from uncertain premises; no patent, undeniable fact, witnessing to such continuity has been produced.

But if he cannot trace any organic continuity between the Established Church and the Church that preceded it, he is glad to acknowledge the confessional or theological continuity that exists between them through the preservation by the Established Church of the ancient Catholic

faith concerning God, the Holy Trinity, the Incarnation. This faith, inherited without adulteration from the Catholic and Apostolic Church, must have been to the Church that adopted it a source of untold spiritual strength; it must have been in that Church a well of living water springing up unto everlasting life; it must have imparted grace and power to the Church's ministrations, and have been the cause of eternal salvation to thousands, perhaps rather millions, of its members. A true confession of right faith in God and in Christ is itself a gift of the Holy Spirit of inestimable value. The last revisers of the English Prayer Book were not very happily guided when they altered the original clause in the Collect for Trinity Sunday, 'that through stedfastness of this faith we may be evermore defended from all adversity,' into the rather commonplace petition now to be found there; 'the shield of faith,' a right belief in God and Christ, is a strong defence against all manner of evil influences, and this source of grace the Established Church of Scotland has had through its maintaining the Catholic faith as its standard of belief with regard to those *credenda* which must be the foundation of all religion.

While the Scottish Episcopalian unreservedly acknowledges all this, he cannot consent to the mischievous and unintelligent expedient adopted by those who put one divine gift or truth in competition with another, and decide that the one may be safely ignored if the other is respected. He reverently acknowledges the orthodoxy of the Established Church as to these articles of the Catholic Creed which it has retained; but he cannot think that this justifies any action on his part which would seem to treat the divine gift of organic unity with the Apostolic Church as a respectable trifle, the absence of which in a religious body may be assumed to be a matter of no serious importance.

It has been suggested above that Episcopalians would do wisely not to try to push back the ancestry of their Church in Scotland further than the testimony of history will justify it. But some Episcopalians, with more zeal than discretion, have made desperate efforts to trace an

organic connexion between the Church of St. Columba and St. Margaret and their own Church of to-day. Is this, to say the least, judicious? History refuses to warrant any theory of such a connexion; the Church of St. Columba was absorbed by the Church of St. Margaret, and that was rooted up and destroyed in 1560. Episcopalians would do well to concentrate their thought on the truth that the glory of the gift of organic unity with the Apostolic Church lies in itself, independently of the special source which conveyed it, and that the dignity of possessing this gift sufficiently adorns the Church which has it without there being any need to claim inferior honours. If this were remembered, we should be spared the boasts, which Episcopalians sometimes foolishly make, of being the 'ancient National Church of Scotland,' and so forth. Even if any sort of a justification can be made out for these boasts, they are generally regarded as mere idle brag, and serve no purpose except to increase such prejudice as still exists against the Episcopal Church.

Thus far we have been striving to see in its true historical light the Established Church of Scotland, one of the two religious bodies in Scotland union between which is to many such an object of earnest desire; but it is time that we now turned to bring the light of history to bear on the other religious body, the Scottish Episcopal Church.

Of all the remarkable features of the Parliament of 1560, perhaps the most extraordinary is the conduct of the bishops who formed part of it. They heard the Church which they represented exposed to the most serious accusations, and they sat by and saw it blotted out of recognized existence without uttering one word in its defence! The most plausible explanation of their silence is that they did not take the proceedings quite seriously[1]; there were grave doubts as to the legitimacy of the Parliament's action, and they may have trusted to everything that was done in it coming to naught. However this may be, their conduct after the crash had come is as difficult to understand as their attitude at the crisis itself. They seem simply to have bowed to what they deemed to be the inevitable; they made no

[1] Bellesheim, *History of the Catholic Church of Scotland*, ii. 304.

attempt to maintain the disestablished hierarchy, and seem to have abstained from any open maintenance of the observances of their religion; they either lived in a sort of safe retirement at home or else departed to the Continent, where some of them obtained bishoprics or other preferments. There is a curious letter from a Jesuit, Father Nicolas de Gouda, who in 1562 was sent, secretly, as Papal Legate to Queen Mary and the Scottish bishops. The Queen received the Legate in private, but in reply to the Brief sent her by the Pope she said she was afraid she could do nothing. Only one bishop allowed de Gouda to have an interview with him, and he, with the rest of his brethren, made much the same reply as the Queen to the Apostolic Brief.[1] How are we to explain this timorous absence of all enthusiasm in the defence of the faith? Anyway, the result was that the old hierarchy, by deaths or departures, soon became extinct.

James I. (and VI.) had many reasons, some personal, some theological, and many more political, for disliking Presbyterianism. On his accession to the crown of England he found there a Church much more to his taste, and he determined to endeavour to remould the Established Church of his Northern Kingdom after the English pattern. The first thing to be done was to send duly consecrated bishops to bring the national religion into line with English and Catholic tradition. Occupying the old Sees there were no claimants to be recognized as diocesan bishops; so in 1610 three Presbyterian ministers were selected and consecrated in London *per saltum* to the Episcopate; these prelates returned to Scotland to reduce the national religion to the desired order. They were in a very unfortunate position: they were not only sent to a Church as the apostles of an ecclesiastical revolution which the members of that Church had never asked for, but they were also expected to act as agents in behalf of a State policy which was exciting vehement opposition. The situation was in itself impossible, and the bishops did not manage it so as to make it possible. As time went on things became worse and worse, and in the next reign (that of Charles I.) the climax was reached. A

[1] Forbes-Leith, *Narratives of Scottish Catholics*, p. 63.

General Assembly met in Glasgow in 1638; it abolished Episcopacy, re-established Presbyterianism pure and simple, and sent the bishops about their business. These hapless prelates followed the example of their papal predecessors in 1560: they sank beneath the flood that overwhelmed their order, and disappeared from view.

When Charles II. was restored to the throne measures were soon taken to make the Established Church of Scotland episcopal once more. Only one of the former bishops could be found, so four Scottish ecclesiastics were selected and consecrated bishops in London in 1661, not *per saltum* this time: those of them who had not been episcopally ordained were required to pass *per omnes gradus* before receiving consecration as bishops. These prelates, on their return to Scotland, were in the same ambiguous and ungrateful position as their predecessors in 1610; were they successors of the Apostles, or political agents? Both, perhaps. The story of their doings however would lead us to think that while they shewed the greatest backwardness and caution in trying to raise the condition of the Church to greater conformity to Catholic tradition, their zeal in helping the State to suppress the politico-religious party of the Covenanters left little to be desired.

At length the Revolution broke out. James II. (and VII.) was deposed, and William and Mary accepted the crown. The Scottish bishops to a man refused to renounce their allegiance to the Stuart dynasty, and to recognize the new monarchs. The answer to this *intransigeance* was short, sharp, and decisive. In 1690 an Act was passed by which the sovereigns and the three estates of Parliament 'to settle and secure the true Protestant religion' ratified and established the Confession of Faith and also the 'Presbyterian Church Government and Discipline . . . to be the only government of Christ's Church in this Kingdom.' The result was totally different from that which took place in 1638; the bishops did not meekly pass out of existence. An Episcopal Church, bishops, and episcopally ordained presbyters, followed by their flocks, emerged from the newly re-established Presbyterian body, which they declined to

recognize as a legitimate branch of the Catholic Church. As the political disturbances of the times made the recalcitrant Episcopal Church not only obnoxious, but very dangerous in the eyes of statesmen, it was subjected to rigorous repressive measures, in the carrying out of which, through the action of its Presbyteries, the Established Church took an active part. The Jacobite risings in the next century caused repression to develop into actual persecution, and with such remorseless vigour were the persecuting enactments applied that the wonder is that the Episcopal Church survived at all; it was in fact reduced (as Sir Walter Scott has it) 'to the shadow of a shade.' The history of the Episcopal Church for the first hundred years after its disestablishment is a pitiful story from whatever point of view it is considered; the bishops and their Church had indeed to pass through a bitter purgatory of affliction at the hands of the State in expiation of the way in which the sacred office and work of a bishop in the Church of God had been made subservient to the exigencies of statecraft.

But the bishops, with their faithful presbyters and laity, held out bravely. In the midst of relentless persecution, undeterred by the disheartening effect of diminishing numbers and of grinding poverty, despite mistakes and misunderstandings, doubts and fears, the bishops provided as they could for the spiritual needs of their flocks, kept up the hierarchical succession, and slowly—very slowly and gradually—evolved a canonically organized Church out of the wreck caused by disestablishment. This work was accompanied by an ever increasing approximation, in outward things at least, to the use and wont of the Church of England. The year 1792 saw the repeal of the penal statutes which affected the Scottish Episcopal clergy, but it was not until 1864 that the last vestiges of these persecuting enactments disappeared from the law of the land.

It has been said, and writers worthy of credit have repeated the statement, that at the time of disestablishment (1690) more than two-thirds of the population were 'Episcopals'; but it is difficult not to believe that there is some

mistake here. Scotsmen have a way of knowing what they mean and want, especially in matters of religion, and of persevering till they get it; it is hard to believe that if three-quarters of the nation had been anxious for episcopal government, they would not have secured it eventually, let any amount of persecution come as it might; and then, if the statement be correct, how was it that Scotsmen settled down so soon to the present state of mind, which teaches them to regard Presbyterianism with pride as a cherished national characteristic?[1] To use modern jargon, perhaps the truth is that while 'the classes' preferred Episcopalianism, 'the masses' were Presbyterian; the questionable statement may represent what was imagined by 'the classes.'

The Episcopal Church of Scotland to-day is the lineal descendant of the Church which we have just been looking at in the light of its history. If it is far from having won its way to national acceptance, it is now something infinitely more substantial than 'the shadow of a shade,' and it occupies, if not a very influential, at least a sincerely respected position among the ecclesiastical bodies which divide between them the religious allegiance of Scotland.

The era of proscription and persecution having come to an end, the two Churches, the Established Presbyterian, and the Episcopal, found themselves side by side, each at liberty to exercise its proper influence in the land; the Presbyterian Church in all the dignity conferred on it by the Act of 1690, the Episcopal Church gradually recovering from a century of drastic repression. Those who have taken the trouble to comprehend the historical aspect of the case, and who know something of human nature, will not need to be told that at first the relationship between the two Churches was anything but cordial; indeed, on the Episcopal side there was a feeling of bitter resentful animosity against the triumphant Church, a feeling which had not died down

[1] 'There is that in Presbytery which makes it worth having and cherishing dearly; and there is also that in the history of Presbytery in Scotland which makes it well-nigh impossible to be a patriotic Scotsman and Churchman without being Presbyterian.'—A. M. Stewart, *Origins of Presbytery*, p. 16.

when the present writer first became acquainted with things ecclesiastical in Scotland about half a century ago. This feeling prevailed specially among indigenous Episcopalians in the north, where even up to the middle of the last century stories and traditions were rife of the sufferings of ancestors for the maintenance of their faith. On the Presbyterian side there was a tendency to regard Episcopalianism with suspicious dislike. The dislike was greatly the result of an impression that bishops were an invasion from England on Scottish religious liberty; the suspicion arose from the mistrust of 'popery' which still lies deep in the Scottish heart; Scotsmen find it difficult to estimate what the relationship is that exists between prelacy and popery; there is *some* relationship they are sure,—but what is it? So long as these feelings prevailed on either side, of course there could be no question of union or reunion between the Churches. Time is a wonderful smoother of asperities; at present the traditional episcopalian animosity has probably died out on the one side even in the stern breasts of the men of the north; whether the suspicious dislike has *quite* disappeared from the other side is another question. But even if it still lingers, this has not prevented men on both sides from raising and facing the question—Could there not be effected between the two Churches a union that would join them in one body devoted to the sacred cause of promoting in the world the progress of Christ's Kingdom?

The first public proposition of the union-idea (of course we speak of modern times) seems to have come from the Episcopal side. The well-known Dean Ramsay advocated union in some published writings; but though admired and respected for his social gifts and amiable disposition, the genial Dean was never an ecclesiastical force to be reckoned with, and his proposals were coldly received in his own communion, and did not attract much attention beyond it. Bishop Charles Wordsworth, of St. Andrew's, devoted the greater part of a long episcopate to a fervent advocacy of union, mostly on the lines of 1610; but the bishop's personal qualities went far to neutralize the power of his endeavours,

and this notwithstanding his splendid scholarship and generous devotion to the cause of the Episcopal Church. He was a man of moods, unduly sanguine when his proposals seemed to gain acceptance, unnecessarily depressed when they were ill received; hence neither side felt certain what the bishop might say or do next; the effect of this was inevitable. Unconnected with Bishop Wordsworth's efforts, on the arising of a 'Disestablishment' scare, a proposal was made (did this not emanate from the southern side of the border?) that the sister (?) Established Churches of England and Scotland should unite in sort of league for mutual defence; but the suggestion had no practical result. More recently, any open effort on the Episcopal side towards promoting the progress of the desire for union has been mainly confined to the seeking by bishops (and other Episcopalians) of membership with the 'Christian Unity Association,' a society which includes men from all Christian denominations, and which seeks to promote the cause of union by mutual conferences, discussion, and prayer. But while on the Episcopalian side there is a general feeling that union is much to be desired, it can hardly be said that there is any widespread intelligent appreciation of what, if it came into practical politics, it would exactly mean, or what it would involve.

On the Presbyterian side there is a school of thought, chiefly among the ministers, of which it is impossible to speak without the most cordial respect; it includes among its members men of unusual culture and learning, and the general tenour of their principles (which may be learned from the publications of the 'Scottish Church Society') combines a genuine regard for Catholic tradition with practical acceptance of Scottish Presbyterianism (the consistency of this combination need not be discussed here). These men would gladly welcome union with the Episcopal Church on terms which would save the self-respect of their own Church, and one who has every right to be considered the spokesman of the school, accepts almost with enthusiasm the suggestion made by the Committee of the Lambeth Conference (1908) on Reunion that 'such precedents as those

of A.D. 1610 ' might be followed in arranging a union between the Presbyterian and Episcopal Churches. But have those who express their readiness to work on the lines of 1610 realized what in fact the result would be ? It would be the turning of the Established Presbyterian Church into an Episcopal Church. If such a project were actually presented to the Established Church, would it meet with any other fate than summary and decisive rejection ? Would a single Presbytery throughout the land agree even to discuss it ? And are the results that followed the carrying out of the policy of 1610 of good omen ? Should not a policy that ended only in failure and confusion be regarded rather as a warning than as an example ?

There is another school of divines in the Presbyterian Church who are interested in the question of union, men who may be called ecclesiastical politicians; these also earnestly desire union, but it is union, or perhaps rather alliance, with the Church of England on equal terms which is the goal of their desires. These divines have a not uninfluential following among the laity, especially among those noblemen and landed gentry who, in Scotland, appear as supporters of the Established Church. By these divines and their adherents the Episcopal Church is very generally regarded as a troublesome intruder, the existence of which complicates and embarrasses the possible carrying out of a much desired plan. A well-known divine, recently deceased, whose sympathies turned in this direction, could not be restrained even by the ordinary conventions of society from breaking forth into scornful vituperation when he heard the Episcopal Church or its bishops mentioned in conversation. From the men of this type, it is evident, no aid to the work of union on the basis of 1610 can be hoped; and indeed politico-ecclesiastical leaders of the Established Church are now too busy endeavouring to call into union the various branches into which Presbyterianism is divided to have time to pay much attention to Episcopalians.

As to the great majority of the rank and file of Presbyterian Churchmen, ministers and laity, the simple truth is that they are quite uninterested in the question of union

with the Episcopal Church; they do not see that it is wanted, or would serve any useful purpose, and there they are content to leave the matter; this may be very benighted, but it is certainly the general feeling. One hindrance in the way of union ought not to be left unmentioned. A great deal of fun was poked during recent educational controversies at those who maintained the importance of keeping up a certain moral and religious 'atmosphere' in schools; but in truth 'atmosphere' is not a negligible quantity. In Scotland, when Presbyterians come into actual contact with the Episcopal Church in work or worship, they are often repelled by finding themselves in a wholly unfamiliar, and so an uncongenial, religious atmosphere. An experience of pastoral work in Scotland during more than forty years has assured the present writer that here is perhaps the greatest of all the influences that keep the two Churches apart. How is this difficulty to be met? It is hard to say: 'atmosphere' is one of those elusive influences which it is impossible to define, but which is nevertheless a power that may be felt.

A source of misunderstanding, and of consequent delusive hopes, sometimes arises from the congratulatory way in which Presbyterians speak of the improvements effected of recent years in their Public Worship. It is often taken for granted by Episcopalians that these improvements mean an approximation to the standard of the English Prayer Book, and therefore that they indicate a drawing of the one Church nearer to the other. This is a mistake. It is true that most Presbyterian Churches now possess fine organs, and more or less highly trained choirs, and that more attention is given than used to be the case to the literary composition of the prayers. But the 'atmosphere' of these improved rites is (with perhaps a very few exceptions) that of the ornamental services in English Nonconformist chapels, rather than that created by the use of the Book of Common Prayer.

To sum up. Those who would fain bring to realization the idea of ecclesiastical union or intercommunion between the Established Presbyterian and Episcopal Churches in Scotland find themselves at present in an *impasse*. It seems

impossible to formulate a programme of union that would at the same time respect the continuous integrity of the Apostolical Succession and also conciliate the just jealousy with which Presbyterians would regard anything that might seem to slight the traditions of their Church. Any (even temporary) tampering with the integrity of the succession would be a disaster of the first magnitude. It would cause a dangerous schism which would rend the unity not only of the Episcopal Church in Scotland, but of the Anglican Communion in all its branches; it would give the proselytizing agents of Rome the very opportunity they are waiting for. What would be the value of a union effected at such a price as this?

It is naturally hard for us to see that the Presbyterian Church would lose anything worth keeping by being brought into line, through its hierarchy and in other important respects, with Catholic and Apostolic tradition. Had we to deal with possibilities of union with a Church in which the influence of men of the 'Scottish Church Society' type was predominant a *modus uniendi* might soon be evolved; but (as they themselves would be the first to acknowledge) theirs is not the ruling influence in the counsels of their Church. At present the prevailing tone in the Established Church of Scotland is that of contentment with, or even pride in, the national Presbyterianism; in these circumstances no welcome could be expected to be given to any proposal for the introduction of an Episcopacy, even if the modified precedents of 1610 were followed.

The only wise thing that can be done by advocates of union at the present time is to wait; the times are not ripe for anything else. The least attempt to urge on the carrying out of a programme would be certain only to produce mischief. The Council of Florence is a standing warning in the history of Christendom of the miserable unwisdom of patching up a union before those who are to be united are ready for it and desirous of it. At present neither Presbyterians or Episcopalians are prepared for union. A famous Scottish lawyer of a past generation, when consulted by clients as to the best method of taking legal action in any contentious matter, is reported to have

generally replied by asking the question, 'Can't you let it alone?' This query may be pressed on those wishing for reunion—'Cannot you be content at present to pray, to consult, to discuss? But do not formulate plans, put forth programmes, or try to force on practical action, for which no one is ready.'

There is a real danger that the desire for union may be degraded by becoming a craze; more than one noble ideal has been injured by incurring this misfortune. Anglican Churchmen are becoming more and more conscious of the isolation of their Communion, 'equally removed' as it is from all other phases of the Christian Religion. How their isolation (which is certainly to be deplored) may be wholesomely remedied is a large question, but only unwholesome results can accrue from getting into a fidget about it, and anxiously going the round of other Churches and denominations proposing schemes of union which apparently no one at present wants to have anything to do with. Our isolation is perhaps a punishment for the sins of our fathers; if borne in faith and patience, and with loyalty to the truth, it may yet be found that it had its valuable part to play in the working out of the destiny of the Church; but nothing save harm can come from pushing forward schemes of union which have to be supported by even temporary disloyalty to principle, or by slurring over the plain facts of history.

If one might suggest a motto to advocates of union it would be this—*Donec effundatur super nos Spiritus de excelso*.[1] When it pleases the great Head of the Church to pour forth on His people in Scotland the Spirit of grace and of supplications, and when they confess and lament the sins of their Catholic, reforming, and Episcopalian forefathers, which have produced such bitter fruits of disunion and discord, then a burning desire to repair the evils past will draw all who are inspired by the heavenly afflatus into outward union in the One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church. But until unity comes as the result of the work of the Holy Ghost in the hearts of Christians it had better not come at all.

THOS. I. BALL.

[1] Isaiah, xxxii. 15.

Art. VI.—THE GREEK CONTRIBUTION TO SPIRITUAL PROGRESS.

1. *Religion in Greek Literature.* By Lewis Campbell, M.A., LL.D. (London: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1898.)
2. *The Evolution of Theology in the Greek Philosophers.* 'Gifford Lectures.' By Edward Caird, LL.D., D.C.L., Master of Balliol College, Oxford. Two Volumes. (Glasgow: Maclehose. 1904.)
3. *The Rise of the Greek Epic.* By Gilbert Murray, M.A., LL.D. (Oxford: at the University Press. 1907.)
4. *The Religious Teachers of Greece.* 'Gifford Lectures.' By James Adam, Litt.D. (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1908.)

I.

The growing interest which is devoted at the present time to the religious ideas which may be found in Greek literature seems to belong to an appeal to the Greeks somewhat new in the spirit in which it is made. This searching demand that the classic heritage shall yield fruit for religious thought differs from the earlier attempts to connect Platonism with Christianity, and Christian theology with Greek metaphysics. It shews indeed not less than these the resolution and earnest determination to find, if possible, a relation between the highest thoughts of pre-Christian humanity and the message and teaching of Christ. But it is distinguished from former attempts not only by the more historical method which belongs to the present age, but also by the fuller recognition which modern scholarship has made of the Greek spiritual achievement considered in itself, the realization of Greece as forming in her best period a 'white-hot centre of spiritual life in a world of effortless barbarism,' to quote the words of Professor Gilbert Murray.[1] As a result the modern interest is less in the metaphysical foreshadowings of religious doctrines and more in any concordance of moral and spiritual conceptions and tendencies that can be traced. Thus it has come about that

[1] *Rise of the Greek Epic*, p. 1.

at the very time when the continuance of Greek influence in education and culture is most seriously challenged there is in process, unnoticed by the most powerful and extreme of the critics, and almost unconsciously in the scholars and thinkers who are making the change, a higher appeal to Greek thought than ever before made in history.

It is probably too early to penetrate into the underlying cause of these needs in our own age which turn our thoughts in this new way towards the Greeks. It may be connected in some way difficult to analyze with the revival of a certain kind of intellectualism which was inevitably less active during the last century, when so much of the power of intellect was absorbed in the development of science. This revival is possibly all the stronger at a moment when that scientific energy seems to be devoted less to the spheres of discovery which make the greatest demand upon the imagination, and more to the application of the discoveries and principles won to general practical utility. Or it may be remotely related to the gradual disappearance of some false hopes, as to the possibilities of progress, in which many who began life at the period of greatest confidence in the further advance of humanity unconsciously grew up. At such a transitional epoch there may be, again, a natural tendency to look back with renewed curiosity to the work of a people who did so much for the truest kind of human development with resources so limited as regards depth and extent of knowledge, and to inquire afresh as to their spirit and methods. At the same time the mental discipline of the nineteenth century remains too strong to allow of acceptance of any guidance from thought that is inexact or methods that neglect experience. A mysticism, for instance, which commands modern attention must be based on clear thinking; and this is one ground for the special interest in such a teacher as Plato—an interest, however, different in kind from that of the Cambridge Platonists, whose Platonism was 'that of Plato the mythologist, not that of Plato the dialectician.' [1]

Of this modern interest in the spiritual side of Greek

[1] J. A. Stewart, *Myths of Plato*.

thought Dr. Adam's *Religious Teachers of Greece* is a striking example, as were also Dr. Edward Caird's *Evolution of Theology amongst the Greeks* and Professor Lewis Campbell's *Religion in Greek Literature*—three notable books by men for whose loss Greek scholarship and the whole republic of letters are the poorer. To these might be added Professor Gilbert Murray's *Rise of the Greek Epic.*

In the present article an attempt will be made, with some reference to these books, and in particular to that of Dr. Adam as being the most recent, to suggest what it is that the Greek spirit can give in response to this inquiry, or what is the most valuable contribution of the Greeks to spiritual progress; for this is the question that most concerns modern seekers and is of most permanent importance. It seems well, however, to point out that the religious teachers of Greece ought to be considered not merely in so far as they are teachers of mankind. The greatest of Greek teachers, in spite of a real intellectual aloofness from his people, never lost sight of the actual religious condition of the mass of men in an age when the intellectual and civil factors were immeasurably in advance of the religious. There seems to be a temptation to dwell upon the ideas left to us by the leaders of Greek thought on the questions of eternal interest, apart from their historical and social context. There is no longer so much excuse for doing this since the great advance recently made in the study of the religious conceptions of ancient Greece in accordance with modern scientific methods.

Certainly in few spheres is there so much need of caution in the exercise of the historical imagination. Here as elsewhere indeed the science of Comparative Religion comes to the help of the student, and in the researches of anthropology he finds keys that promise to unlock many doors. Thus fortified, and with the rich quarry of classical literature to dig in, he discovers innumerable witnesses to the existence in the founders of European civilization of all those 'fallings from us, vanishings, blank misgivings' which are the main psychological origin of what may be termed the sub-religious ideas and practices of early peoples.

In due course the religious condition in ancient Greece has been given its place amongst the subjects treated by the student of primitive religions, and in this department the Greeks cease to be regarded as a nation set apart, with their extraordinary mythology, so great as an inspiration for art, if somewhat empty and meaningless to the religious spirit. Behind the cult of each of the leading mythological deities there are found to be luxuriant growths of myth, of reasoned and unreasoned custom resting on the primal superstitious motives of fear and hope, of awe and grief. Greek cults hardly, if at all, less than others reveal behind them the tragic delusions of the savage, and the shadow of human sacrifice rises from them to fall across the pages of the greatest poets of Greece. If, upon the one hand, the scholar has succeeded in demonstrating the kinship between early Ionian, Attic, and Doric religious feelings and those of barbarian races, on the other it has been more clearly recognized that the mystic element in religion, the existence of which in Greek peoples there has been some tendency to ignore, whether original to them or accepted from without, gained a powerful hold at the time of greatest national genius, and was not merely developed by the philosophers on account of its speculative interest.

It may appear paradoxical to argue that, in spite of all that archaeology and literature can do for us here, in addition to the scientific studies which help to the comprehension of the faiths and cults of other peoples remote from us in time, the task is more beset with difficulties in the case of Greece, and this on account of the very fact of our seeming intimacy with the Greek mind. There is, however, a peculiar difficulty in the effort to understand the religious imagination of a race in many aspects of its spirit so near to ourselves but one for which there was no great spiritual religion.

Notwithstanding this difficulty, the way in which the Greeks contributed to the spiritual development of the human race will, it is believed, be best understood in the future when the time has come for the consideration of their work in the light of the fuller knowledge we are gaining

of its exact place in Greek life and in human history. At present there is still on the whole a marked division between the two chief lines of study. In the Oxford meeting of the 'International Congress on the History of Religions,' last September, a noticeable feature of the section on 'Greek and Roman Religions' was the separation between the two motives, the two methods that are here applied. The one method was represented by such a paper as that of Professor Lewis Campbell on the *Religious Ideas of Plato*, the ripe fruit of scholarship and philosophy; the other by the various papers and discussions on the anthropological aspects of Greek (and Roman) religious customs which proceeded from the modern tendency to bring these peoples into line with all other primitive races in this sphere of research.

The reconsideration which may be expected will, when it comes, probably shew the inadequacy of estimates of the relation of the actual creeds and cults of the popular mind to philosophy, such as have been made even by profound scholars; *e.g.* Professor Burnet says: 'A man . . . might believe or disbelieve that the mysteries taught the doctrine of immortality; the essential thing' (*i.e.* for ancient religion) 'was that he should duly sacrifice his pig. It follows then that the mysteries cannot have suggested any ideas to philosophy, and that their influence was merely external.' [1]

II.

No real attempt can be made by the present writer to mark out the lines upon which a study of the Greek thinkers in this special light should proceed; but a few considerations may be given, especially as some of Dr. Adam's chapters are very suggestive in this connexion. Dr. Adam's main object was to shew the development of religious ideas in the two spheres of poetry and philosophy—the former marked by sympathy with popular conceptions, the latter by opposition to these and search for a more excellent way. The poets endeavoured, with the effort of a genius that has

[1] Burnet, *Early Greek Philosophy*, chap. ii.

been touched by the incommunicable charm which only the faiths of its own people can exercise upon genius, to purify and ennoble those faiths by a lofty interpretation. The full significance of the Greek poets' attempt to make the legends of mythology vessels for the highest moral and spiritual conceptions of which their age was capable has not always been appreciated, a lack of realization encouraged possibly by the fact that the last great tragedian, Euripides, did not carry on this tradition and went beyond even the philosopher in his destructive scepticism and free speculation. Where the poets have been best remembered in connexion with the history of religious ideas is probably in those sublime passages of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides which may be taken either as ancillary to the religious constructions of the philosophers or, more generally, as expressions of that pantheistic conception of the universe which has been so permanently attractive to the spiritual imagination of poetic genius. Such outpourings have universal interest for philosophy and religion. But considered historically, as a stage in religious growth, a more important aspect of the teaching of these poets is their treatment of the national myths.

The interest of the religious student in the more philosophical aspects of the dramatic poets is natural, since it has been more to the philosophers than to the poets that students of religious thought have looked. It is in this spirit that Dr. Adam devotes some labour in his *Gifford Lectures* (see especially those on Heraclitus, Socrates, and Plato) to an exposition of that in the Greek thinkers which may be regarded as belonging to a stream of thought which contributed ideas to Christian theology. The lectures in general also seem to illustrate the truth that a great philosophic development cannot be very far from religious development, a truth which has perhaps its profoundest example in the perplexities and interest surrounding the question whether Plato's 'Good' (*τὸ ἀγαθόν*) is, in his system, equivalent to God. If, however, we are to lose nothing of the historic as well as the universal significance of the more spiritual element in Greek thought we shall

do well to take the tragic authors, considered in close relation to recent research, as the best preparation for the study of the philosophers, and that on account of their deep sympathy with the deeds and faith of

'The simple, nameless herd of humanity.'[1]

In turning to the philosophers it is difficult not to feel that we are passing the bounds of the question of Greek religious teaching. It is part of the greatness of Greek, as indeed of all valuable philosophy, that from the outset it has a universal character, a cosmic outlook. What its teachers give of enduring religious worth is that in their speculation which is addressed to human reason, to the most thoughtful of their disciples, to the philosophic 'guardians' of the world.

With regard to average men and the ignorant, Plato's teaching is largely on the point of method. He agrees with Socrates that they must observe the religious customs of their State and society; he goes in his old age even beyond Socrates in the strength of his belief in the absolute value of the temper that respects throughout life the tradition and sacred emotions of childhood, as such:

'Who can avoid hating and abhorring the men who are and have been the cause of this argument? I speak of those who will not believe the tales which they have heard as babes, and sucklings, from their mothers and nurses, repeated by them both in jest and earnest, like charms, who have also heard them in the sacrificial prayers and seen sights accompanying them—sights and sounds delightful to children, and their parents during the sacrifices shewing an intense earnestness on behalf of their children and themselves, and with eager interest talking to the gods and beseeching them, as though they were firmly convinced of their existence,' &c.[2]

But this conviction seems to depend, at least for the Plato of the *Laws*, more on the logic based on knowledge of human nature than on emotional sympathy.

It seems important to draw attention to the relation of

[1] Euripides, *Bacchae*, 430 (tr. Murray).
[2] *Laws*, x. 887 (tr. Jowett).

distance between the highest religious ideas conveyed by the philosophers and the actual religious condition of their people. Plato's real apartness from his people in this respect ought to be remembered for the significant testimony it bears to the religious character of his thought. For this quality in his mind owes little, it seems, to that inexplicable sympathy with the ideas of his own race, however obscure and even unlovely their origin, which, as already suggested, has so powerful an effect on the imagination of a great poet with the temperament of Sophocles. There is perhaps something deeper in the poet's sympathy than in the philosopher's aloofness, some more human response to the universal in humanity than can be given by those for whom reason alone is real and eternal. On the other hand Plato's cast of thought is the most memorable illustration of the kinship of religion and philosophy, because it is out of his profoundest reasoning that the religious ideas which he has to express proceed.

'If it' (ancient philosophy) 'owed much to the religion from which it emerged, it was hardly at all conscious of the debt.'[1]

III.

If we were to take the tragic poets as intermediaries between the religious ideas of the philosophers and those of the popular consciousness, the philosopher-poet Euripides and the poet-philosopher Plato would come nearest together for the purpose of our analysis; for Euripides has a cosmic ideal with which to contrast the religious attainment of his people, an ideal more intellectually consistent and morally acceptable than the mythology of earlier Greek poetry could satisfy, and Plato, as we have seen, is keenly aware of the value of ancient tradition and the customs which proceed from deep ethnic sources. It is in these two writers that the trouble and perplexity of the religious consciousness receives its best and frankest expression; but the tremendous nature of the issue for the thoughtful Greek has its witness equally in the task undertaken by

[1] Caird, *Evolution of Theology in the Greek Philosophers.*

Aeschylus and Sophocles—the idealization and purification of the national legends.

By a study of both attitudes of Greek genius, the conservative and the iconoclastic, we may learn a little of the religious difficulties of the Greek of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., and at the same time perceive a truth sometimes forgotten, that it was the outcome and result of no empty religious history, no idle interest in new things, that set up later in Athens the altar to the Unknown God.

These problems, the pressure of which, instead of (as so often) crippling imagination, urged the genius of Euripides to its most amazing flights, were felt as partly local, partly universal. On the one hand the mythology, with its barbaric core and artistic clothing, aroused, from its childish inadequacy to the spiritual needs of a highly advanced race, a scorn and indignation which sometimes border on despair. Neither Aeschylus nor Sophocles regarded this difficulty with the open mind of speculation, on account of their imaginative and emotional sympathy with their race, and also (especially in the case of Sophocles) because a religious not less than an artistic ideal constrained them to find methods of reconciliation. The extreme expression of the problem in Euripides is well brought out by Dr. Adam, and it is impossible to read his sympathetic chapter on this poet without feeling that Euripides was in earnest and not merely working the theme for dramatic purposes. Euripides' doctrine on this part of the religious question for the Greeks seems to be summed up in the often quoted line :

εἰ θεοί τι δρῶσιν αἰσχρὸν οὐκ εἰσὶν θεοί·[1]

a verse which, according to Dr. Nestle (quoted by Dr. Adam), contains the *Grundgedanke* of Euripides' attack on Greek polytheism.

The chief point at which Euripides touches the universal problem is with regard to the existence of evil, and in particular the frequent apparent failure of the righteous and prosperity of the wicked.

[1] *Frag.* 292, 'If gods do aught base they are not gods.'

'All vainly I reverenced God, and in vain unto man was I just.'[1]

Here Euripides carries perhaps to its most tremendous expression in pagan literature a thought which, as observed by Dr. Adam, is a chief element in the melancholy of Greek poetry. The arraignment of Hippolytus is of the gods of mythology, and belongs to the Greek situation, yet his complaint has a ring that makes it akin to that of Job.

It is interesting to note in this connexion that in Greek philosophy the two chief solutions towards one or other of which the attempts of pure metaphysics to deal with this problem have tended have already their statement in the philosophies of Heraclitus and of Plato. That of Heraclitus, who seems to have been primarily a metaphysician, is the one that modern philosophy has found most attractive.

'For God accomplishes all things with a view to the harmony of the whole, dispensing what is expedient thereunto, even as Heraclitus says that to God all things are beautiful and good and right, but men consider some things wrong and others right.'[2]

In this sentence we have the essence of that conception of Spinoza's which has exercised so great a fascination for modern speculation in philosophy and poetry. The solution which seems to be Plato's, although he is less clear (being unable perhaps to find a solution which was entirely satisfactory to both his metaphysical and his moral standpoint), is a kind of dualism which has been a great source of perplexity to students. It is especially a stumbling-block to those who identify 'the Good' of Plato with God; for a world of which all the reality is in the Ideas, if these are dominated by one Supreme Idea, must give us Monism; but God is not the author of the evil in the world, as we are told in the *Republic* and the *Timaeus*. This can perhaps be avoided by a view that the evil is only phenomenal; but such a view introduces a grave inconsistency into the Theory of Ideas, which cannot in strictness allow phenomena

[1] Eur. *Hippolytus*, 1366 (tr. Way). [2] *Fragment* 61 (Burnet).

of which there are no ideas. Nor does this seem to be the meaning of the doctrine in the *Timaeus* of a Necessity which concurred with Reason in the generation of the universe, and seems to be assigned a positive existence.

To return to the consideration of the religious-moral problem in Aeschylus and Sophocles: any critical study, such as that of Dr. Adam, must convince us in the first place of the growth in the people of a need for the moral guidance of religion, and in the second place of the work of these two poets in supplying the ideals, or moulding the popular mythology into the ideal forms that were demanded. Aeschylus and Sophocles are, although Plato does not seem to have realized or acknowledged it, great, if not the greatest, examples of the possibilities of poetry as national education. For the best teacher speaks in the language the people can best understand, and that through their emotions as well as their intellect. Philosophically estimated indeed they stand for a compromise which Plato could not accept, at least at the period of the *Republic*; and had their work been expressed in philosophical form it would have to be admitted that it came too late. Euripides from this point of view more truly heralds the new age, and belongs to the future of the world. But for the majority in their own generation they did more than philosophy could do, and thus prepared it unconsciously for further religious developments.

They infused into the old, familiar legends, even into what were for Euripides ' the minstrel's sorry tales,' all the best meaning of the new religious and moral ideas and aspirations which were in the spiritual atmosphere of the time but not crystallized. The higher notions of justice and mercy which political and civil progress engendered, the mysticism which came with longer history, bringing longer thoughts, with contact with other nations, and practice in Eleusinian and Orphic ceremonies, the deepening moral sense which tortures the mind with consciousness of sin, these were breathed by these poets into the forms that the people best knew, the legends of great families with the burden of hereditary crime, the sombre super-

stition of a destiny or divine power that helped to make the wrong and woe unending. Thus the new teaching needed seemed to grow from those roots which were too deep in the soil out of which national character sprang to be removed.

In connexion with the relation of the tragic drama to the general mind a study of the place held in Athenian life by the Eleusinian mysteries at this period would be of great interest. If Dr. Adam had been able to include such a study in the scope of his *Gifford Lectures* further light would no doubt have been thrown by him on the question how far the ordinary religious consciousness had felt its way to the conception which was for the contemporary Hebrew the A B C of spiritual thought, *viz.* that the highest morality is perfected by religion. For these mysteries seem to have been at the time of the culmination of Attic power, and of creativeness both in art and in the life of citizenship, the mode of religious exercise to which the State devoted most interest and care—the religious festival of the Athenians which indeed they wished to make nationally Greek. Dr. Farnell[1] brings out the evidence which exists for regarding the celebration of the Eleusinian mysteries as a moralizing influence for the Greeks. 'The fifth century B.C.,' he writes, 'was ripe for that momentous development in religion whereby the conception of ritualistic purity becomes an ethical conception. . . . Aristophanes, Pindar, &c., bear testimony that on the whole the performance of the Eleusinian mysteries had an elevating effect on conduct.' Dr. Adam's preference for the Orphic mysteries, to which he devotes a chapter, is due of course to the influence of Orphism upon Plato, who in spite of contempt for some of the Orphic teaching and practices shews a sympathy, conscious or unconscious, with its doctrines in his religious speculation.

On the whole subject of the relation of religious motive to conduct evidence which might be drawn from the historians would also be of value; but this branch of Greek literature was inevitably outside Dr. Adam's range

[1] *Cults of the Greek States*, vol. iv. chap. ii.

and aim in his work, since the historians are not teachers.

Professor Campbell in his *Religion in Greek Literature* has an interesting chapter on Herodotus; and, as Rawlinson points out, the attitude of mind shewn in Herodotus' ready acceptance of oracles, prodigies, &c., has the advantage of 'inducing him to place on record a whole class of motives and feelings which did in point of fact largely influence the conduct of his countrymen.'[1] The religious enthusiasm of the temper in which the people entered upon the Persian War is hardly anywhere more finely suggested than in Herodotus' story of the vision on the eve of Salamis of Dicaeus the Athenian and Demaratus the Spartan, who saw a cloud as of the dust of thousands moving in the Eleusinian procession from deserted Athens to desecrated Delphi. In the case of Thucydides the historian's lack of interest in the religious motive, as shewn in its comparative absence from most of the speeches (except for perfunctory references), and especially from the great apology for Athens, Pericles' Funeral Oration, is an argument that we may attach all the greater weight to the instances in which is found that 'Reverence for the Divine'[2] which cannot be kept out of the general narrative. Of this the supreme instance is the fatal delay of the Athenians in their last extremity at Syracuse on account of the eclipse of the moon, 'for the mass of the army was greatly moved, and Nicias was too much influenced by divinations and omens.'[3] The general tone of the instances of the religious or, more strictly, superstitious motives given by both historians is manifestly non-moral. So far as Herodotus and Thucydides are concerned the preparation for a moral religion seems to be found in that spirit of patriotism which had a deeper meaning for the Greeks in the solitude of their civilization than has been the case probably for any other people. It is possible that something was added to the strength of this by the inadequacy to national needs of the ideals actually furnished by religion. Of this quality in civic

[1] *History of Herodotus*, vol. i. Introduction.

[2] δεισιδαιμονία. [3] Thucydides, *History*, lib. vii.

patriotism the Funeral Speech of Pericles is the most intellectual expression, as Herodotus' account of Thermopylae is the most pathetic. It seems that all the evidence of literature is in favour of the view that Plato and the other religious teachers of Greece were not addressing a people in whom the religious instinct was dim.

IV.

A consideration of Plato's attack on poetry will perhaps help to make clearer the position of religious thought in Athens at his time, as well as Plato's own spiritual standpoint in history, 'between two worlds, one dead, the other powerless to be born.' Dr. Adam, since he is considering the answer of the Greek poets and thinkers to the eternal spiritual problems,[1] devotes his first lecture to a discussion of the relations between poetry and philosophy. He is led also to this beginning by the commanding interest of Plato. To write of Plato was for him a labour of love. 'Whatsoever (or one-third of what) is good in me put down to Neil, one-sixth to ——, and the rest to Plato,' he says in a letter quoted in the memoir prefixed to his Lectures. It is also the result of a reasoned conviction. 'Of course he' (Plato) 'knocks all the others into a cocked hat; there is no one like him, none. It is tremendous how he searches all the depths of one's whole nature. You really must devote a year or two to the exclusive study of his work, if you mean to do anything useful for the interpretation of religious thought.'[2]

With regard to the question between poetry and philosophy for Plato, the issue is perhaps even deeper than that upon which Dr. Adam mainly dwells. 'The ancient quarrel between poetry and philosophy,' in order to be taken as more than ironical ground for the force of his condemnation, must be indeed interpreted as religious and ethical in its quality. According to Dr. Adam it was because the conceptions of Greek mythology were endowed by the genius of Homer with a living and overmastering sway over the

[1] *Op. cit.* Introduction. [2] Letter to Mr. T. R. Glover, August 1904.

young, and actually did exercise 'a corrupting and degrading influence upon character,' that the attack is made with so much bitterness. This is no doubt part of the truth; or at least, in so far as Plato believed this to be a fact, his belief was part-cause of his criticism. To what extent the morals of the young were actually affected by the types of gods and heroes presented to them by Homer, how far the direct influence of this national literature on conduct reached, is an obscure question and one upon which it is admissible to think that Plato takes the exaggerated view of the facts to which the idealistic reformer is liable. Approaching the subject from the midst of our modern problems we should be inclined to ask about the personality of the living heroes or guides, and the atmosphere in which his youth grew up. No one has insisted more than Plato upon atmosphere, so far as beauty, harmony, and simplicity of the conditions surrounding childhood are concerned. But he perhaps attached too great a weight to the moral effect of tales and ideas upon the young mind, in abstraction from the question into what kind of soil they were introduced. For this is largely determined by other influences, especially that of the persons into contact with whom the child has been brought, and the sort of conduct which they commend to him and require by example and precept.

But, admitting that Plato was persuaded that the poetry of Homer had a demoralizing influence on the young, this persuasion does not seem, taken simply in itself, sufficiently to explain the far-reaching nature of his condemnation—the apparent inclusion of all poets, without reference to the idealizing work of the tragic authors, the renunciation of all that side of life of which poetry is the chief expression. The criticism cannot be taken as a misunderstanding of the true function of poetry, the direction in which its ethical value is to be sought. Plato could least of all poetic critics be unaware that the moral power of poetry, as of all great art, lies chiefly in the liberalizing effect it exercises upon the imagination, setting it free from the ordinary conditions of practical life, and making

the ' wings of the soul ' to grow. We do not rightly seek in poetry for a direct answer to the problems of the philosophic and religious consciousness. The poetic treatment of these problems is indirect, by means of such a transcript of life and phases of experience (whether emotional, meditative, or active) as shall reveal the real values, and suggest the possibilities which sustain and give it its true meaning, but which are often hidden and difficult to read in actual experience. In the tragedies of Sophocles, and of Shakespeare, the depths of personality, the ideal springs of action, the true nature of man, are expressed. No definite answer to the problems of human destiny raised in the dramas may be given; but we have instead a revelation of the powers of the human spirit which suggests that this destiny must be greater than appears in the short and confused scene of life. This is the best service which art can render to the cause of spiritual progress, and it is impossible to doubt that this was understood by Plato, the author of the great myths. Yet his criticism, if taken absolutely or apart from its context in the life and time of Greece, or rather in the history of man, would be irrelevant. The extreme point of the irrelevancy is marked by the second phase of the criticism,[1] when it is directed not against a special characteristic of Greek poetry, the unworthy presentation of gods and heroes, but against art universally, on the ground that its essence is imitation, ignoring the question whether it may not be the ideal reality instead of the actual—the Platonic idea, not the Platonic *phainomenon*—which art presents.

The criticism appears in a different light when considered in its full context. The first element in the context to be noticed is the Greek attitude towards the poets. An extraordinary interest attaches to the place held by the poet in Greek life, because it is the supreme instance in the history of literature of the opportunity of the poet as teacher. The educative function of poetry—*viz.* to take that which is formless, inchoate, and dim in the mind of the age and set it in forms of power and light—can only

[1] *Republic*, lib. x.

be exercised in perfection under favourable conditions, or when the people turn to it for the visions and guidance they need. Such an atmosphere seems to have been most nearly created for the poets of the great age of Athens. It was due partly to social and political conditions, the relation of literature to other ideal influences, partly to the Greek appreciation of genius and the concentration of genius in a single people.

The conception of the poet as ' idle singer of an empty day ' was far off, as was the apparatus of modern civilization through which his sphere has been narrowed down and his place lost from amongst the statesmen and prophets. Plato would not have been concerned about the idle singer, but in the case of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* he was dealing with works which were, as is pointed out by Dr. Adam, a kind of Bible for the Greek of his own day and, in a less authoritative sense, a practical source of ideals. The consideration which should, we think, be added or especially emphasized here is that his whole standpoint expresses the awakening of thought to the power for good which might be exercised by a religion that should present the highest conceivable moral ideal. It is not easy for us to realize the spiritual atmosphere of a highly cultured people to whom this ideal had not been given by religion. It is not so much that the mythology represented a moral condition out of which they had passed as that it had never been necessarily moral. And now that civilization was becoming more complex the problem for culture was suddenly revealed to thoughtful minds with more or less startling clearness.

It has already been noticed that this change in the spirit of the people seems to have been working up from what may be called the subconscious stratum to express itself in the Eleusinian mysteries and their reaction upon life: some gropings at least after a religion with moral power seem evident here. The problem would become most serious in the sphere of education, and seems to have been realized with full self-consciousness by Plato. For Greek education was entering upon the second main stage in the

history of education, in which it does not merely concern itself with order, the maintenance of continuity in the customs governed by tradition, but with progress, the development of reason, and training of intelligence to meet new conditions. The young are no longer at this stage limited to receiving unquestioningly the rules and precepts of *mos majorum*: the appeal is also to their minds, and the ideas set before them begin to be tested for their intrinsic value. Education sweeps forward with social and political evolution, and even the *Eumenides* of Aeschylus could not restore to the Areopagus its awful character. Nor did the issue concern the young only. The Platonic conception of an education that continues through the whole of life had at least more actual basis for suggestion in the Athens of his time than it could have had, probably, in any other social state. Plato then, it may be argued, aroused doubtless by what he thought were definite proofs of the unworthy influence of the national saga, through the magnificent poetry of the Homeric epic, was still more stirred by some consciousness of the boundless power that might be exercised by a great moral religion, and from this proceeds the strength and sorrow of his criticism.

V.

It was Plato's greatest intellectual efforts, as has been earlier said, which gave birth to his religious ideas. Keeping this aspect of his genius in view, and remembering the moment in history at which he lived, and the consciousness we seem to find in him of the human need of a moral religion, we are brought to a consideration of that which appears to be the chief contribution of Greek thought to the spiritual interests of man. The gift is one which this race seems, as it were (when we bear in mind its endowments and history), elected to make, and which was completed in the work of its greatest thinker, who combined in so extraordinary a degree intellectual power with religious idealism. This element in the highest Greek thought, and especially in that of Plato, is most simply to be described as the religious enthusiasm of the search for truth, through the

intensity of which the religious character could be built up so far as was possible in the uncertainty as to the object of the search.

It was in this direction that a few high minds which could not be satisfied with the existing substitutes for religion, on account of their non-moral character, were able to turn. Professor Burnet observes that the Pythagorean conception of philosophy as a way of life enabled Greek philosophy to do for men what religion has done for them in other ages. The chief point is, however, that this way of life, whatever it may have been for the followers of Pythagoras, was really for the greatest thinkers a way of thought, and was nothing else for Plato than the search for truth conducted with what may be called a religious passion. Baur puts the point well in his essay on *Das Christliche des Platonismus, oder Sokrates und Christus*: 'It is almost the only philosophy which combines with an essentially scientific character and content an essentially religious conception of its nature and mission.'[1]

The service of Socrates in the growth of this essence of Platonism can never be estimated, the dramatic genius of Plato having set the relation between his master and himself in a light that cannot be analyzed into its components. One of the latest *dicta* of Platonic criticism[2] suggests that we have an actual record of the discourses of Socrates in the *Phaedo* itself, bringing with it the whole doctrine of Ideas, the metaphysical proofs of immortality, the extreme of intellectual asceticism.[3] What seems at least tolerably certain is that the essentially religious conception of the nature and mission of philosophy, of which Baur speaks, was that of Socrates. All that is involved in Socrates' conception of his duty, *viz.* that he was divinely commanded 'to follow after wisdom and examine myself and others,'

[1] 'Sie ist so beinahe die einzige Philosophie, welche bei so ächt wissenschaftlichem Charakter und Gehalt einen so ächten religiösen Begriff von ihrem Wesen und Beruf gehabt hat.'

[2] Professor A. E. Taylor in *Mind*, March 1909.

[3] Dr. Adam also makes a similar, though more cautious, suggestion in his chapter on Socrates.

is not often so well brought out as it is by Dr. Adam. In these words in the *Apology* we have the germ of Plato's religious and also an essential feature of his philosophic spirit, for almost every step reached by his method of reasoning in his greatest works is greeted by what may be called a spiritual rejoicing. The present writer does not accept the literal view of the 'voice'[1] which guided Socrates, or regard it, with Dr. Adam, as 'a hallucination of the sense of hearing'; but the view taken makes no difference to the striking similarity between the spirit of Socrates' obedience to this voice, as described by Plato and Xenophon, and that of the Hebrew prophet to the Divine command.

This general spirit which pervades the whole philosophy of Plato, through all the change or evolution in the *Dialogues* which has so deeply troubled criticism, is not without a basis in the fundamental tendencies of Greek thought, which should shew the inadequacy of such easy contrasts as have been pointed by too many historians, as, for instance, that 'the Greek spirit is the Affirmation of the world (*Weltbejahung*). The Christian spirit is the Renunciation of the world (*Weltversagung*).'[2]

As Professor Lewis Campbell has shewn in *Religion in Greek Literature*, the seriousness of Greek literature is more noticeable than its light-heartedness. One tendency of this seriousness throughout poetry and philosophy is towards its culmination in that consciousness, which is so marked in Plato, of the dangers to the higher life involved in the conditions of ordinary existence. This sense is at times so profound as to lead him to advocate renunciation of the world and to a spiritual struggle and ascetic temper comparable to that of the mediaeval saint. So far is the highest flower of Greek culture from that kind of Humanism which is expressed in the extravagant side of the Renaissance. The point with which we are especially concerned is that the danger for Plato was to the rational part of the soul, or the mind (*Nous*). The simple, untroubled identification of mind with the immortal or divine element is the characteristic of this phase of thought. There goes with it an

[1] φωνή. [2] Paulsen, *Ethics*.

almost reverent respect for this power in man, and a missionary persuasion of the duty of dedicating it to the development of the highest kind of life and to the service of the community. This is the special form of the Greek ethics of reason. Aristotle might be included with Plato here,[1] but his philosophy marks a turning-point as regards the relation of the individual to the universal, and that which seems to some doubtful in Plato is lost in Aristotle, the eternity of the individual mind, a loss with which the whole philosophy of mind and the soul suffers a momentous change.

All those aspects of Platonism which are of chief religious interest, the conception of the Good, the relation of the world-soul to the individual soul, the persuasion of immortality, seem to be directly connected with the view of the divine character of mind. Indirectly dependent on it is the central position of his philosophy—the theory of ideas—for the reality of the universal, the primary work of thought, must follow from the divine and eternal nature of that which thinks. It may nevertheless be granted that if Plato had been a philosopher of the nineteenth century we might have to accept the view maintained by Hegel and other historians of philosophy, and recently put in an extreme form by M. Bovet in his dissertation *Le Dieu de Platon*, to which Dr. Adam refers more than once, that his philosophical position cannot be completely harmonized with theological positions which, when speaking as a religious teacher, he seems to maintain, or which, if we were considering him only as a religious thinker, we should be inclined to attribute to him. The general position of Hegel is that the Platonic interest in the *Phaedo*, for instance, is in the metaphysical meaning, and of this the doctrine of the soul and of immortality is a veil or allegory.

M. Bovet argues, with much ingenuity, that as a philosopher Plato (except in his last dialogues) has no concern with religion, though this need not involve that he was other than religious in temperament. The greatest question which is thus raised is that of the place of Plato's

[1] Cf. *Eth. Nic.* x. 7.

'Good' in a philosophy of religion; and a question in some respects similar (though by no means necessarily to be answered in the same way) is whether, and in what sense, the various principles by which the earlier Greek thinkers sought to explain the world were conceived by them to be divine. Dr. Adam clearly inclines to the view that we have possibly in Thales and Anaximenes, probably in Anaximander, and certainly in Xenophanes, Heraclitus, and Anaxagoras, a true monotheism. In all these cases Professor Burnet takes a contrary view. The difficulties which beset the whole subject remind us of the danger of assuming that what may seem to modern thought to follow almost inevitably from certain positions need necessarily have so followed for the ancients. If, as Professor Burnet has so well shewn in his *Early Greek Philosophers*, it is hard for the modern student, coming after the history of modern philosophy, to enter into a state of mind for which the distinction between spirit and matter was hazy and undefined, much greater is the difficulty of comprehending the point reached in ancient religious thought. For the distance between the two points is greater in respect of the religious than of the philosophic consciousness. The philosophical aspect of the religious difficulty will only, however, be considered here. It seems to be in the conception of the abstract, the point of view from which abstractions are regarded, that the most crucial change in the thinking that affects philosophy of religion has taken place. In an attempt to come to a conclusion as to the relation of Plato's 'Good' to his idea of God we have to make a greater effort to get rid of some of our own philosophical presuppositions than is necessary perhaps in the case of any other question which modern thinking can address to ancient thought. The difficulty is hardly less when we consider the earlier thinkers and their principles,[1] which are conceived physically and, possibly, metaphysically, though not ethically. For the Greek thinkers at their stage of development the way to an elevation of religious ideas might well seem to lie in the direction of depersonalizing, purifying from all association with the

[1] ἀρχαί.

element of individuality or particularity, the Supreme Being.

The first philosophical protest against Anthropomorphism is, therefore, perhaps more moral than intellectual in the spirit of its revolt. 'If oxen or lions had hands and could paint with their hands and produce works of art, as men do, horses would paint the forms of the gods like horses and oxen like oxen. Each would represent them with bodies according to the forms of each.'[1]

The process of de-individualization might certainly commend itself to the reason of Greek thinkers more readily than to that of the moderns, since they came before that long history of the criticism of the abstract, the universal, the work of thought which culminates in modern philosophy. Its culmination is, for one school of thinkers, the idea of a never-ending pursuit by thought of the unique existence that it cannot overtake, or in the mystical beyond-thought conception of the Absolute. For another school it ends in doubt of the validity of all forms of thought except so far as justified by their practical use for life. For minds, then, pervaded by the view that the Universal is a weakness of thought, a necessary staff which the mind would discard if it could, since the abstraction shews the failure of man to realize all things in their unique individuality, it is hardly possible to pass from the greatest of universals to the notion of the one Perfect Being. This difficulty may not have been there at all, certainly was not felt in its extreme by Plato, nor, so far as we can judge, need it have existed for the earlier philosophers. The Greek thinkers had a courage of the objective which philosophy has lost. They do not begin with the mind and its capacity for apprehending anything, but can begin, like Plato, with the Good, from the nature of which may be deduced the nature of the human soul and of the universe. The deduction of reality from value, as the modern thinker would put it, is a simple matter for Plato. The contrast between the spirit of his philosophy in this respect and that of modern times could hardly be better shewn than by a comparison between the religious

[1] Xenophanes, *ap.* Burnet (from Ritter and Preller).

philosophy which may be drawn from the *Republic* and that of Höffding's *Philosophy of Religion.* In the last-named work the 'conservation of value' is 'the core of all religion;' but the method of the modern philosopher has no wings wherewith to bear the idea of value out of the subjective world in which modern thought first finds it into the objective sphere in which the religious consciousness seeks for it.

With regard to the various primary principles of the Milesian thinkers, the Logos of Heraclitus and Nous of Anaxagoras, for Dr. Adam the salient point in the evolution of Greek theological reflexion is the development of the monotheistic conception, in poetry and philosophy alike. It is possible that this leading idea may make him at times read too much into the poetic treatment of Zeus, and the philosophic treatment of the *Archai* or First Principles. The Homeric Zeus might still remain but one amongst other gods, whilst nevertheless the growing, if obscure, need of the human soul for a more satisfying conception of deity would naturally be expressed by the great poet who finally shaped the *Iliad* in language that could only be addressed to the chief of the Olympic divinities. This tendency becomes more marked in the tragic authors, whose occasional voicing of a lofty Monism, sometimes pantheistic, had probably little connexion with the actual beliefs of even the most thoughtful Athenians.

In the case of the Milesian philosophers we have so little to go upon that a consensus will probably never be arrived at. Here, it seems, we ought to remember Hegel's warning, 'If Thales did speak of God as constituting everything out of water that would not give us any further information about absolute existence. We should have spoken unphilosophically . . . because we should have used an empty word without inquiring about its speculative significance.'[1]

On the other hand, in connexion with our inevitable ignorance here, few pieces of philosophic criticism are, in the light of the later history of science and philosophy, of more

[1] *History of Philosophy*, part i. sect i. (E. T. adapted).

interest than Aristotle's comment on the statements of the early philosophers in their search for a principle.

> 'Surely it is not likely that fire or earth or any such element should be the reason why things manifest goodness and beauty both in their being and in their coming to be, or that those thinkers should have supposed it was, nor again could it be right to ascribe so great a matter to spontaneity and luck.'[1]

Whatever view we take as to the religious meaning of the early Greek philosophers, it is obvious that the daring Monism which at one bound was launched upon philosophy by Greek thought was an excellent discipline for the Greek religious imagination in its progress towards that Monotheism which the Hebrew could better understand through the conception of moral law. It is to the 'Logos' of Heraclitus that most interest has been given by theology, on account of the special place the Greek idea is thought to have held in the development of Christian doctrine. Dr. Adam takes the view according to which the conception in Heraclitus is the first stage in the evolution of thought which culminates in the opening of St. John's Gospel. Some recent theological criticism is, however, at variance with this interpretation.

Dr. Purves, in the article on 'Logos' in Dr. Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, assigns to the expression as used in St. John's Gospel the special meaning of 'word' as manifestation, rather than the Greek use of it as 'reason.' Both Dr. Strong (*s.v.* John the Apostle) and Dr. Reynolds (*s.v.* St. John's Gospel), in the same *Dictionary*, also find a difficulty in connecting the Logos of St. John with the Logos of Greek thought. With the Greeks 'the word Logos took on more and more the associations of universality, and lost more and more those of the individual thing or person. . . . With the Hebrews the Word was the emissary and representative of God.'[2]

From the point of view of the present article the main

[1] *Metaphysics*, A. III. (trans. J. A. Smith and W. D. Ross).

[2] *Dictionary of the Bible*, note to Article on 'John the Apostle,' by T. B. Strong.

question is whether the Logos of Heraclitus is to be conceived as divine for Greek reflexion. There is a great temptation to regard Heraclitus as having conceived his ruling principle spiritually; for he more than any other of his predecessors seems to have had an individuality of thought which remains of an independent and abiding interest not absorbed into the academic philosophy. Nor need the fact that his Logos is embodied as or transmuted into Fire be a stumbling-block. The difficulty here in understanding Greek thought in its gradual advance towards a clear conception of the spiritual may arise out of its very simplicity. It is not wise, however, to dogmatize on this point, and the obscurity in which the Ephesian shrouded his utterances may have had its profoundest cause neither merely in scorn of men nor only in belief in his own prophetic mission, but also in the failure to satisfy himself upon the greatest question.

When we come to Plato's idea of Good the problem is not, as in the case of the earlier thinkers, that we know too little, but that we know too much; for it is Plato's statements about the idea which make it difficult to conceive of it steadily as the object of the religious consciousness. The idea of Good is that which everyone really pursues, erringly called by some pleasure, by others knowledge; it is an object of thought which can only be apprehended by the keenest minds after a severe study of all the sciences, or again the most universal idea through sharing in which all things ultimately have such reality as they possess. To modern thought barriers hard to break down may seem to separate such a conception from that of Deity, the God and Father of all. But, as earlier suggested, it would be unhistorical to assume that such barriers certainly existed for Greek speculation.

In favour of the view, to which Jowett, Caird, and other modern thinkers incline, and which is accepted by Dr. Adam,[1] is that Platonic enthusiasm for the aim and method of reason which seems so closely akin to the loftiest religious enthusiasm of the saint. And finally it might be argued

[1] See especially Lecture XXII. p. 446 *sq.*

that, granted the possibility of an intuition of the Good as conceived by Plato, this intuition must be identical with the consciousness of God. Whatever the ladders up which thought has had to climb as a preliminary, the apprehension ultimately reached, with all its dazzling effects made endurable by previous discipline, with its power to illuminate and irradiate all that was previously dark, and 'there plant eyes,' its result in perfecting the moral character, cannot be less than that of the Divine Being in the mind of the philosopher who conceives it.

The line of thought which has been indicated might to some extent be applied to Plato's treatment of the other greatest question of religious thought. Mr. Archer Hind, who conceives of Plato as a metaphysician first and foremost, holds that, although Plato himself, at the period of the composition of the *Phaedo*, believed in the continued individual existence of the soul, the arguments in the *Phaedo* only prove the eternity of soul as such, not of the individual soul. According to the view which has been put forward here, Plato's metaphysical standpoint cannot be fully understood if we forget for a moment what must be called his religious spirit. On this account he seems to be first among philosophers, not excepting Spinoza, in his interest for the student of religions. What we should venture to add to Mr. Archer Hind's interpretation of the *Phaedo* is, that considerations of the different conception of the Universal in ancient philosophy, conditioning the real meaning of Plato's ideal theory, make it possible for us to think that for Plato at least individual immortality is metaphysically proved in the *Phaedo*. The scope of this article does not, however, permit of further development of this point. But it may be added that amongst the examples set by ancient thinkers the effort to follow which might be salutary at the present time is courage in metaphysical inquiry, absence of doubt as to its value for the highest interests.

HILDA D. OAKELEY.

Art. VII.—DARWIN AND MODERN THOUGHT.

1. *The Foundations of the Origin of Species.* A sketch written in 1842. By Charles Darwin. Edited by his son, Francis Darwin, F.R.S. (Cambridge: at the University Press. 1909.)
2. *The Psychological Review.* 'Darwin Number.' (Baltimore: Review Publishing Co. 1909.)
3. *Development and Evolution.* By James Mark Baldwin. (London: Macmillan & Co. 1902.)
4. *Religion and Science.* By P. N. Waggett, M.A., of the Society of St. John the Evangelist. (London: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1904.)

And many other Works.

On July 1, 1908, the Linnean Society of London celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of the meeting at which the doctrine of natural selection was first laid before the scientific world by the two epoch-making papers of Wallace and Darwin. In February last the centenary of Darwin's birth was commemorated at Oxford by a gathering at which many members of his family were present; and finally, in June of the present year, Darwin's own University of Cambridge has signalized the hundredth anniversary of the birth of her great alumnus, and the fiftieth anniversary of the publication of his most famous work, by a series of academic and social functions which will long live in the memory of those who were privileged to take part in them. From all regions of the civilized world, from the United Kingdom, its Colonies and Dependencies, from every European country, from the United States and from Japan, men of science assembled to do honour to the memory of Charles Darwin, and to acknowledge the debt owed to his inspiration and example by every department of intellectual activity. The spectacle was a striking one; not the less so that of all the representatives of science present, each distinguished in his own line, there was probably not one whose attitude with regard to the question of evolution would be precisely the same as Darwin's. Nevertheless, all were agreed that to Darwin is

due the great revolution which, beginning in the sphere of biology, has carried its influence into almost every region of thought, and has introduced such changes into our conceptions of natural phenomena that the science of the present day seems to be divided by a well-nigh impassable gap from the science of half a century ago.

In view of the great interest which these anniversaries have been the means of awakening, it may be not unprofitable to inquire into the reasons for this outburst of enthusiasm in favour of a man whose work is admitted to be shewing already some signs of age and imperfection. Justified we fully believe the feeling to be, and in the following pages we shall endeavour to shew that there is sufficient cause for the honour with which the name of Darwin has lately been received by the representatives of science from all parts of the world.

Be it remarked at the outset that Darwin is not correctly described as the founder or originator of the doctrine of evolution. In a former number[1] of this REVIEW the steps were traced by which the idea of organic evolution, not unfamiliar to the philosophers of Greece and accepted almost as a matter of course by Christian philosophers of the Middle Ages, became overshadowed by the conception of specific immutability under the influence of such naturalists as Ray and Willughby; this latter conception finally taking rank as a scientific dogma in the works of Linnaeus and Cuvier. Erasmus Darwin and Lamarck, with others, maintained, more or less consciously, an earlier tradition. In advocating, as they did, the mutability of species, they ran counter to the bulk of opinion then generally current; the theologians mostly, perhaps universally, ranging themselves on the side of the popular scientific doctrine of the day. But the views of the transformists, though temporarily obscured, never entirely died out, and when Charles Darwin, in the year 1837, opened his first note-book for facts in relation to the origin of species, he was not so much laying the foundations of a new structure

[1] *C.Q.R.* No. 109, October 1902.

as preparing to complete and crown an edifice the origin of which must be sought in a far distant antiquity.

Why, then, it may be asked, is Charles Darwin by universal consent accorded a place of honour which is denied to evolutionists like Erasmus Darwin and Lamarck—the one probably his equal in speculative ingenuity, the other in industry and devotion? The reason is not far to seek: it lies in the one word 'selection.' It was the flash of inspiration that came independently to both Darwin and Wallace (in each case as a consequence of the reading, under circumstances that may be called accidental, of Malthus' *Essay on the Principle of Population*), which made all the difference between the vague speculation and laborious trifling of the earlier transformists, and the splendid fabric of reasoned and unified theory which is the mainstay of all scientific workers to-day. The conception of natural selection, or the survival, from a superfluous production of varying offspring, of those best adapted to the conditions of their existence, rationalized for the first time the hypothesis of the transformation of species, and so ensured its ultimate acceptance by serious thinkers, and its application to regions of knowledge and practice far removed from its original birthplace. There have not been wanting, especially of late years, those who while thoroughly accepting the theory of evolution are not convinced that in Darwin's principle of natural selection we really possess the key of the problem. Huxley himself, while always ready to do battle in Darwin's behalf against misrepresentation, prejudice, or ignorance, was never a thorough believer in natural selection; though, strangely enough, it was natural selection as propounded by Darwin that converted him to a belief in evolution. But having once become a convert, he sought and found other grounds for his conviction. Our own opinion on this matter coincides with that of Fr. Waggett, that 'with all the weakness which may be pointed out in some of its applications, natural selection remains scientifically the most probable and philosophically the most welcome account of the adaptations of animal and vegetable life,' and so, we would add, of the derivation of species from one another by

descent. But even if it should hereafter be found that the part played by selection in the origin and differentiation of species has been overestimated by Darwin and his followers, the fact will still remain that under this illuminating principle the doctrine of organic evolution first took shape and coherence, and so became available as a framework on which could be built up and cemented together our constantly increasing stock of knowledge of natural phenomena. On this topic Fr. Waggett quotes appositely from *The Ring and the Book*. The artificer adds alloy to the gold, unfit without it

> ' To bear the file's tooth and the hammer's tap '

n this way he

> ' Effects a manageable mass, then works.'

The ring completed, the alloy has served its purpose :

> ' But his work ended, once the thing a ring,
> Oh, there's repristination. Just a spirt
> O' the proper fiery acid o'er its face,
> And forth the alloy unfastened flies in fume ;
> While, self-sufficient now, the shape remains,
> Prime nature with an added artistry.'

A good deal of ' fiery acid ' has already been spirted, but, so far as we can see, without as yet ' unfastening the alloy.' In our opinion, the ' alloy ' is destined to remain in the ring as a permanent constituent.

The name has been mentioned above of Alfred Russel Wallace. His lighting upon the theory of natural selection, though due to the same cause, was quite independent of Darwin's. The papers in which the two discoverers announced their solution of the evolutionary problem were, as is generally known, given to the world simultaneously ; but, while Wallace's essay was the immediate result of a single happy inspiration, Darwin had been at work on the same subject without intermission for fully twenty years. On these grounds Wallace, with rare generosity, has always endeavoured to minimize his own share in the discovery. Nothing, however, can alter the fact that he arrived inde-

pendently at a conclusion practically identical with Darwin's. On the other hand, Darwin is entitled to all the credit which should belong to an investigator who tried and tested his hypothesis in every possible way, and who shrank from submitting it to the public until it had been fortified with an overwhelming array of supporting facts, and had been well exposed to its author's own unsparing criticism.

The conception of natural selection in its bearing on evolution, save for Wallace's independent discovery, is Darwin's own. Such intimations of the principle as had occurred to other thinkers, as to Mr. Patrick Matthew, were never followed up and consequently came to nothing; in Darwin's hands the mere suggestion furnished the key to the whole problem. It must not be forgotten that Darwin had convinced himself of the fact of evolution some years before he was put on the track of natural selection by his study of the famous treatise of Malthus, and Mr. Francis Darwin has expressed the opinion that 'with his knowledge of the interdependence of organisms and the tyranny of conditions, his experience would have crystallised out into "a theory by which to work" even without the aid of Malthus.'

However this may be, it is interesting to inquire how far his confidence in the fact of evolution was a plant of spontaneous growth. He himself attributed the rise of doubts in his mind regarding the permanence of species to his observations during the voyage of H.M.S. *Beagle* of 'certain facts in the distribution of the inhabitants of South America, and in the geological relations of the present to the past inhabitants of that continent.' There is no evidence to shew that he had made himself acquainted with the views of previous advocates of evolution; but it is difficult to believe that he had never heard of the transformist speculations of his grandfather, Erasmus Darwin. Still we have his own testimony that at any rate when starting on the voyage in the *Beagle* in 1831 he believed in the permanence of specific forms; and on the other hand, it is an indisputable fact that in the July of 1837 he opened his first note-book on the transmutation of species. It has been justly pointed out both by

Huxley and by Mr. Francis Darwin that Lyell's *Principles of Geology*, the first volume of which was put into Darwin's hands by Henslow in 1831, by its teaching of geological uniformitarianism 'leads inevitably to evolution.'

When in due course Darwin took occasion to read Lamarck, he was not favourably impressed with that author's general line of argument. 'Heaven forfend me,' he wrote to Hooker in 1844, 'from Lamarck nonsense of a "tendency to progression," "adaptations from the slow willing of animals," &c.! But the conclusions I am led to are not widely different from his; though the means of change are wholly so.' Notwithstanding his generally poor opinion of Lamarck's speculations, he retained to the last a belief in the French naturalist's tenet of the transmissibility of acquired characters.

But, as we have already said, the great distinctive feature of Darwin's contribution to evolutionary theory is his application thereto of the principle of selection, and it is by the wealth of argument and illustration which he brought to bear on the problems involved in the operation of this principle that he makes his strongest appeal to the scientific thought of to-day. Various attempts have been made, all of them, as we think, unsuccessful, to dispense with natural selection as a dominant factor in the evolutionary process; but we venture to assert that it is becoming more and more clearly recognized that the only alternative to natural selection as an explanation of adaptation to conditions is a return to the old hypothesis of 'special creation' in a form that is neither warranted by science nor welcomed by theology.

Much attention of late years has centred round the question of the nature and causes of variation. Darwin, as is well known, took the fact of variation as a starting point, without discussing at any length the problem of its origin. Besides the ordinary fluctuations about a mean, the existence of which kind of variation is a matter of common observation, he recognized the occasional occurrence of 'sports' or variations of a more pronounced kind, such in fact as may fairly take rank as abnormalities. Variations

of this latter description might, he thought, serve for the foundation of domestic races ; as an instance of such a result he gives the case of the Ancon or ' otter-sheep,' a breed which, originating from a definite sport, was preserved for some generations by means of artificial selection. But he was not inclined to allow any importance to the occurrence of sports in regard to species-formation under natural conditions. Without rigid selection, such as can be applied by man, the extreme variations would, he considered, speedily be obliterated by crossing. This opinion of Darwin's has now been vigorously contested, and (as we shall see) with some measure of success. It was shewn many years ago by Gregor Mendel, Abbot of Brünn, that divergent characters are not necessarily blended or swamped when the bearers of them are crossed with one another. It is true that a unit-character of one parent may so predominate over the corresponding character in the other parent that the first generation of the offspring may shew the former only, to the apparent exclusion of the latter. But when the members of this first generation are allowed to breed together, a certain proportion of the resulting offspring is found to present the character which was apparently missing in their parents, though present in one grandparent. This establishes the fact that certain characters may remain latent in one generation and reappear in the next. There has, of course, long been a general consensus of opinion to this effect ; but before Mendel the phenomenon had never been put on a scientific footing. The proportion in which the latent or ' recessive ' character reappears was found by Mendel to be constant, and on the facts observed by him as a result of his experiments he formulated his now famous law of the segregation of unit-characters in the germ-cells or ' gametes.' Into this part of the subject we need not enter further than to remark that Mendel's discovery renders necessary a revision of Darwin's opinion as to the swamping effects of intercrossing, inasmuch as it has now been clearly shewn that in many cases at all events two divergent characters do not in reality counteract or blend with one another when crossed, but may each of them reappear in all

their original purity in successive generations. Hence the question of the significance of 'sports,' or as they are now often called, 'mutations,' demands a more extended treatment than that accorded to it by Darwin. It is manifest that if a 'mutation' and its parent form stand to one another in the 'Mendelian' relation, there will be no swamping, and the mutation will at least have its chance. But it must still run the gauntlet of selection, either natural or artificial; and whether Darwin was right or wrong in minimizing the importance of mutations in species-formation, there is absolutely no warrant for limiting the sway of his distinctive principle over every sort and kind of variation.

We may conjecture with some degree of safety that if Darwin had been acquainted with Mendel's work, and had traced out Mendel's results to their legitimate consequences, he would have been led to admit, at least as a theoretical possibility, that sports might take part in the formation of new species. But it is difficult, or even impossible, to believe that he would be found on the side of de Vries and his followers at the present day, in discarding the fluctuating variations altogether as having any species-forming significance, and in attributing to mutations, and mutations alone, the power of becoming the ancestors of a new organic type. The successive accumulation of small differences is an essential part of the evolutionary process as conceived by both Darwin and Wallace, and the statement for which Professor Hubrecht has lately made himself responsible, that 'de Vries is a much more staunch Darwinian than Wallace himself,' appears to us to be almost grotesque in its absurdity.

A point which is of the first importance in the study of organized nature is the well-nigh universal occurrence of adaptation. Every naturalist worthy of the name has from the earliest times been impressed with the fact that the objects of his interest are not a mere array of isolated and unrelated phenomena, but are rather constituents in a great unified complex, no one part of which could be interfered with without disturbing the balance of the whole. It is not easy to find any feature, whether in animal or plant,

which has not some assignable relation to the needs of its possessor in relation to its surroundings either inorganic or organic. The number of exceptions to this rule, already comparatively insignificant, is diminishing almost daily. There is no need to insist upon a fact which has been universally recognized by observers from the time of Aristotle and earlier. No one in modern times has dealt more sympathetically with this great outstanding feature of organized nature than has Paley in his *Evidences* ; and it is interesting to note that Darwin (whose rooms, by the way, at Christ's College, Cambridge, were once, according to tradition, occupied by Paley himself) attributed to the study of the *Evidences* the only good which he believed he derived from the official studies of his University. Whatever else the *Evidences* may have done or failed to do for him, they helped to direct his mind into a channel which led to the most fruitful consequences ; and we have no hesitation in asserting that in proportion as anyone occupies himself, like Darwin, in enlarging his acquaintance with the ' contrivances,' as Paley called them, of Nature, to that extent will he find himself constrained to accept the Darwinian view of their development, and to recognize the inadequacy of the ' mutationist ' hypothesis to account for their existence.

According to the school of de Vries, the mutation, when it appears, is already a new species ; nor can new species arise in any other way. When confronted with the problem of adaptation, and asked how it is that new species, which arrive, according to the hypothesis, *per saltum*, should nevertheless be so perfectly adapted to their surroundings, the mutationists can only answer that selection has here been at work, and that those mutations alone survive which can stand the test of competition. But to ask us to believe that the nice adjustments which we see everywhere around us represent merely the survivors of mutations which appeared suddenly as such from dissimilar progenitors, is to put too great a strain on our credulity. It will be generally felt that if the doctrine of ' special creation ' is to be revived, it should not be in this shape. No such difficulty attends the Darwin-Wallace conception of the accumulation of minute

differences—a doctrine in accordance with the observed facts of nature, and not, like the alternative theory, incompatible with the law of probability.

It is undeniable that for certain instances the Mendelian statement of the proportion in which parental characters are inherited takes rank as an established fact, and it is equally unquestionable that the same generalization puts the possibility of the permanence of sports, or 'discontinuous variations,' in an entirely new light. It is also true that Mendel's interpretation of the facts observed by him reaches a very high degree of probability; but the extent to which the Mendelian relation will be found to hold, and the number of species, if any, which owe their origin under natural conditions to the occurrence of sports or mutations, must be admitted to be still in doubt. Meanwhile, it is important to note that neither the Mendelian nor the de Vriesian conception gives any countenance to the Lamarckian doctrine of the transmissibility of acquired characters, and that the mutationist account of the origin of species can by no means dispense with the distinctively Darwinian principle of selection. Probably enough has been said to shew that the weakness of the mutationist theory consist chiefly in the practical ignoring of adaptation. When the almost universal prevalence throughout organic nature of exact adjustment to conditions is once fairly recognized, the theories of de Vries are seen to lose their plausibility. The teleology of Darwin is not the teleology of Paley, but both writers are entitled to the credit of having done much in their several ways to rehabilitate the doctrine of final causes.

When, turning from the branches of natural knowledge with which Darwin was especially concerned, and from which he drew the facts on which his theory was based, we attempt to estimate the scope and limitations of the influence which his presentment of evolutionary process has undoubtedly exercised in the several spheres of sociology, psychology, and ethics, we find ourselves confronted with questions by no means ripe for solution. Professor Karl Pearson has done good service by pointing out that under present social

conditions civilized society recruits itself from below, the rate of reproduction of the industrial classes being far greater than that of the professional classes. If we can assume with Professor Pearson that 'the industrial classes are not on the average as intelligent as the professional classes and that the distinction is not entirely one of education,' the result is somewhat disquieting. Here is an example of an arresting social fact which has been arrived at by a strict observance of Darwinian method.

'Approach the problem as we will,' says Professor Pearson, 'the conclusion forced upon us is ever the same, the physically inferior, the mentally slow, are not naturally more fertile than the stronger in body and mind, but they are in our community to-day the more fertile, and the process of deterioration . . . *is* in progress. The moment we suspend the full vigour of natural selection, the moment we artificially correlate fertility with any defect of physique or intelligence, we start that downward movement.'

This is the state of things disclosed by the demonstration that our death-rate, birth-rate and marriage-rate are all alike selective. Darwinism has indicated the danger; can it suggest the remedy? We are here on difficult ground; but now that we have it absolutely proved that the birth-rate 'has become artificial in an individualistic and anti-social way,' we cannot but welcome any organized endeavour 'to study the causes of this change, to create a strong public opinion, a new moral sense, on this cardinal factor of national welfare.' These are the declared objects of the 'Eugenic' movement chiefly identified with the names of Galton and Pearson, and here it cannot be denied that the principles laid down by Darwin may find a practical application of the highest social importance.

'It is now acknowledged,' says Professor Ellwood, 'by all scientific students of philanthropy and scientific social workers that there is a biological element in the social problems of crime, pauperism, and other forms of degeneracy which is amenable to control only through selection. The theory of evolution by selection, in other words, has brought a great hope into the world

that human misery in its worst forms may itself be subject to control. . . It may well be that future ages will look back to Darwin as marking, not merely a new view of organic nature, but a turning-point in the history of the race in its control over human nature and over the problem of collective human life.'

In psychology Darwin has done much to foster the functional and genetic rather than the analytic study of the subject. His somewhat artless discussion of mental qualities manifested in the lower animals may raise a smile in the skilled psychologist; there is nevertheless no reasonable doubt that his method was correct, and his results in the main to be relied on. Many questions remain open: the rise of consciousness, the emergence of intelligence, the development of the mathematical, philosophical, musical and other artistic capacities. What, if any, is the relation of natural selection to these phenomena of organic existence? We do not yet know, any more than we know what life itself is; but the mere fact that the question can be asked has acted as a powerful stimulus to inquiry and an immense aid to the systematizing of knowledge. It is true that in general philosophy, in history and in sociology, no less than in biology, the idea of evolution had been broached long before Darwin began his investigations. But the transforming and quickening power of Darwin's methods and principles of interpretation produced outside the biological sphere an effect which, although for the most part indirect, was scarcely less remarkable than the revolution that he was the means of bringing about in the more immediate objects of his study. Professor Creighton, of Cornell University, has written ably of the influence of Darwinian conceptions in the field of logic.

'From the standpoint of science,' he thinks, 'the most obvious and important indirect result of Darwin's discovery is the confidence which it furnished in the fruitfulness of the method of tracing origins in all fields of inquiry. In the process of becoming, Darwin's procedure showed, things progressively define and specify themselves through their positive and negative relations to other things. In the impetus thus given to the evolutionary method, there was strengthened and extended the

influence of an instrument of analysis whose full power and significance has scarcely yet been realised.'

The effects of Darwin's thought are traced by this writer in the works of the Pragmatists, who, as he says, approach the problems of logic from the psychological point of view, and derive their working conceptions from the biological formulation of evolution rather than from post-Kantian idealism. Even more unmistakeable is the influence of Darwin upon the logic and epistemology of Professor Mark Baldwin, whose theory of 'genetic modes,' though sharply criticized by Creighton from the latter's idealistic standpoint, appears to us to convey the suggestion of a very fertile line of interpretation, and to furnish a wholesome corrective of the narrow mechanical or atomistic view of the universe which so long bore sway in the intellectual history of Europe. Relics of this latter conception persist in some of those who accept the results of Darwin's thought without recognizing the consequences to which they legitimately lead; but there can be little doubt that under the powerful solvent brought to bear by the modern evolutionary doctrine as interpreted by Darwin, the mechanical theory—a mode of thought which, as Aubrey Moore has well shewn, has been fraught with disastrous effects upon politics, philosophy, and religion alike—is ultimately destined to melt away and disappear. The great significance of Professor Baldwin's contribution to the philosophical side of the problem lies in his vindication of teleology, not 'of the human type, working individually and tentatively against nature,' but as the outcome of 'mind in the larger sense of a principle whose mode of operation is in and through the reign of natural law.' And this mode of operation involves, as he further shews, the enlargement of the category of causation by the importation of the idea of dynamic, genetic, qualitative change. 'Mechanical causation, physical energetics—these are the poorest and least interesting facts of nature. Nature achieves novelties; there is, qualitatively speaking, more in the effect than there is in the cause.' Paradoxical as this may seem, it is justified in the light of organic evolution. The mechanical conceptions 'are fruitful

in science ; but along with the processes which these concepts generalize, go the dynamic, genetic, evolutionary modes of condition and consequent, which are equally actual and, in a comprehensive philosophy, infinitely more far-reaching and significant.' Under the influence of Darwin and all that Darwin stands for, the conception of growth has for good and all replaced that of mechanism. In theology, the death-knell of Deism has been sounded, and the way is left open for the recognition of divine Power, transcendent indeed and Personal, but likewise immanent and energizing.

It is as yet too soon for an estimate of the influence of Darwin's theory upon the problems of ethics. In spite of all that has been written by Spencer, Wallace, Galton and Bagehot, the difficulty still remains, as was so forcibly pointed out by Huxley in his memorable 'Romanes Lecture,' of stating the history of moral development in terms that should be compatible with both 'ethical' and 'cosmic' evolution. Huxley, not being able to bring himself to regard the 'ethical' and 'cosmic' processes as other than antagonistic, gave up the problem as insoluble. Up to a certain point, there is little difficulty in tracing, on Darwinian lines, a basis for morals in the needs of a community. Professor Drummond, in his *Ascent of Man*, laboured, not altogether without success, to establish a similar foundation in the relation of maternity as it obtains in the mammalia or 'kingdom of the mothers.' But such basis, when found, must be admitted to be a narrow one on which to rear the ethical fabric in its entirety, and it may well be doubted whether Darwinism has really done much more than touch the fringe of the ethical question. At the same time, the hope would seem to be justified that further study of the problem in its dynamical and genetic rather than its 'instrumental' aspects may lead, as in other departments, to further and more definite results.

Evolution, as we have seen, is no more a new thing in history than in biology. But here again the Darwinian touch was needed to justify the conception of human history as 'the record of a process of elimination and survival.' 'None of us until Darwin came,' as the President of Yale

reminds us, 'had learned to take the results of natural selection as a standard, to make the fact of permanence the test of the right to remain; to assume the view of the philosophical pragmatist in dealing with the problems that come before us.' These last words suggest a line of comment upon which we need not at present enter. Pragmatism, that 'storm-centre in logical discussion,' has doubtless some of its sources in Darwinism, but as a system of metaphysics it parts company with the Darwinian principle of adjustment to actual situations; it forfeits, as Professor Baldwin puts it, the merit of reference to a relatively stable external control.

Enough, we venture to think, has now been said to indicate, though in a manner both brief and imperfect, the immensity of the debt owed to Darwin by departments of intellectual activity far removed from the actual sphere of his labours. To the existence of this debt striking testimony was borne by the remarkable assemblage of men eminent in every department of knowledge who joined heartily and enthusiastically in the recent commemoration at Cambridge. In the case of many of these men, substantial divergences from one part or another of the Darwinian fabric have made themselves evident; all nevertheless united in paying homage, as well-merited as it was sincere, to the modest and reverent spirit, the indomitable courage, the unflagging industry and the exemplary character of Charles Darwin. It has been urged in some quarters that, after all, the chief legacy left to us by Darwin is the inspiration and example of his scientific method. This is not so; his method, excellent as it was, would not have sufficed of itself to raise him to the pinnacle of eminence he now deservedly occupies. His greatness is due not to a single one, but to a rare combination of qualities and achievements; and among them all tells out, like the keynote of a vast concord, the flash of genius which enabled him to seize upon and turn to such astonishing account the all-embracing principle of natural selection.

SHORT NOTICES.

I.—Biblical Studies.

The Book of Exodus, with Introduction and Notes. By A. H. M'Neile, B.D. 'Westminster Commentaries.' (Methuen & Co. 1908.) 10s. 6*d*.

The need which has so long been felt for a good English commentary on Exodus has now been admirably supplied by Mr. M'Neile's volume. In the Introduction, which extends to pp. cxxxvi., the writer takes the documentary theory as proved, and gives a brief but adequate account of the component documents in Exodus and their characteristics, adding references to standard authorities in whose writings the documents of the Hexateuch as a whole may be studied in detail. After an analysis of the book, there follow detailed sections on the Laws in Exodus, the Priesthood, the Tabernacle, the Geography of Exodus, and the historical and religious value of the book. Mr. M'Neile's sketch of the history of the Israelite priesthood is specially interesting and valuable, and should be read in connexion with his judicious remarks on the same subject in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, October, 1905. In dealing with the Tabernacle he follows in the main the views of Dr. Kennedy in the article 'Tabernacle' in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, iv., and gives diagrams to illustrate Dr. Kennedy's theory that the *ḳerāshīm* employed in the framework were not 'boards' but 'frames' of comparatively thin wood, which would permit the elaborately worked curtains, when thrown over them, to be visible from within. This theory has much to commend it. The sanctuary is always pictured as a tent formed of curtains, not as a solid boarded structure.

In the section on the Geography of Exodus, Mr. M'Neile takes the view that the crossing of the Red Sea took place, not between Lake Timsah and the Bitter Lake, but at the southern point of the latter lake. He finds the site of Sinai 'in the desert south of Judah, now known as *et-Tih*, in close proximity to Kadesh and Edom,' and considers that 'there is no Biblical evidence which can be called strong, much less certain,' for the traditional site of Sinai at Jebel Musa. To this conclusion most students who have reviewed the evidence will probably follow him.[1]

[1] We observe that Sir Charles Watson, in his recently published

The notes on the text are all that could be desired. Brief, yet thoroughly adequate, they will be found invaluable, not merely to the English reader but to the student of the Hebrew text. It is a little strange, however, to find (p. 7) that Sargon I., who lived 1000 years, if not more, before the foundation of the kingdom of Assyria, is described as 'the ancient Assyrian king.' On p. 12 the derivation of the title Hyksos is given without comment as '*Hyk-shasu*, "prince of Shasu" or spoilers, *i.e.* desert hordes.' Yet this derivation is not viewed with approval by modern Egyptologists (*cf.* Breasted's smaller *History of the Ancient Egyptians*, pp. 177 f.). In his note on the number of the Israelites who are stated to have left Egypt, Mr. M'Neile rightly rejects Professor Petrie's hypothesis that the Hebrew אלף may denote in this and other passages not 'a thousand' but 'a family.'

Questions which cannot be adequately dealt with in the footnotes receive treatment at length in detached notes, and these will be found for the most part very useful and suggestive. The note on the name Yahweh (p. 21) is scarcely abreast of modern research, or the writer could not remark that 'it is extremely unlikely that the name is of Babylonian origin. If the supposed traces of it in Babylonian literature are genuine, they only point to the introduction of foreign (*i.e.* West Semitic) cults.' Among the most interesting of the notes may be mentioned those on the Passover (pp. 62 ff.), and the Sabbath (pp. 121 ff.).

Regarding Mr. M'Neile's book as a whole, it may be said that its most marked characteristics are its constructiveness and its religious tone. This latter appears most prominently in § 8 of the Introduction, which deals with the Religious Value of Exodus, and in the note on the Plagues (pp. 42 ff.); but it may also be traced elsewhere throughout the commentary. A work of this character offers the best kind of answer to those objectors who think that the results of historical criticism must necessarily be antagonistic to the Faith.

Two additions which might have been made to the list of 'Books useful for the study of Exodus' are Spiegelberg, *Der Aufenthalt Israels in Aegypten im Lichte der ägyptischen Monumenta* (1904), and Volz, *Mose* (1907).

Life of Major-General Sir Charles W. Wilson (John Murray. 1909), seems to treat the argument in favour of Jebel Musa as decisive. The reasons, however, which he gives in tabulated form, do not seem to amount to any more than the conclusions arrived at by Wilson in 1869.

A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Ecclesiastes. 'International Critical Commentary.' By GEORGE AARON BARTON, Ph.D., Professor of Biblical Literature and Semitic Languages, Bryn Mawr College, Pennsylvania. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1908.) 8*s.* 6*d.*

THE most important question about Ecclesiastes is the question as to its character. If we adopted the views of writers like Graetz, we should have to admit that it would be scarcely more appropriate than the works of Ovid or Catullus for public recital in Christian assemblies. But Dr. Barton is quite justified in making short work of such interpretations. 'Qoheleth is never obscene.' (See pp. 24, 49, 184, 191, 195.) We may accordingly with no sense of embarrassment read in public the two magnificent chapters prescribed for the morning First Lesson on the Sunday next before Advent.

But Dr. Barton is not very enthusiastic about the character of Qoheleth, whose teaching, he thinks, 'is to a Christian chilling and disappointing.' His work was of a negative sort, and useful for 'clearing away outworn conceptions.' On the other hand, scholars like Cornill go so far as to count the work 'one of the greatest triumphs of Hebrew faith' (p. 44). And this view will probably be shared by all who regard the book as a unity. Dr. Barton does not so regard it. He is certainly very far from agreeing with Siegfried or Haupt (who tear it almost to tatters), but thinks that the book has been brought into its present form by two different editors at least, the later one being a Pharisee who worked over the whole book in the interests of orthodoxy (pp. 43–46). Perhaps a little more space might have been devoted to this matter. A good deal turns on it.

On other points of Introduction Dr. Barton's treatment is adequate and clear. He dates Qoheleth *circa* 198 B.C. As to its supposed relation to Greek philosophical thought he shews that the work exhibits coincidences but nothing more; for the writer is entirely Semitic. In opposition to Haupt and Zapletal, Dr. Barton holds that Qoheleth wrote most of his book in prose, not poetry; and continually throughout the Commentary textual emendations supporting the metrical theory are mentioned only to be rejected. Two brief but adequate sections deal with the relation of the book to Ecclesiasticus and to Wisdom (pp. 53–58).

The Introduction takes up more than a fourth part of the whole work. In the Commentary, as we should expect, we have a register of expert discussions and decisions, but more than a

mere register. Dr. Barton knows his own mind, and he does not often evade difficulties where he meets them. His translation of the original Hebrew is often happy. 'Sore travail' (Eccles. i. 13) is rendered 'a bad business.' 'The crackling of thorns under a pot' (vii. 6) is rendered in such a way as to reproduce the word-play of the original: 'The crackling of nettles under kettles.' Much Hebrew word-play is lost to the English reader of the Bible. It is only in connexion with proper names as a rule that the Revisers thought it necessary to call attention by a marginal note to some paronomasia in the text. We are sorry Dr. Barton did not apply his 'nettles-kettles' method to other passages. For instance, there is word-play in vii. 14 *a*, where some such phrase as 'Good spirits for good times,' or 'When things are cheerful be cheerful yourself,' would not perhaps be too paraphrastic. Again in ix. 5, 'reward' and 'memory' make word-play. We might perhaps indicate it by rendering 'the dead . . . are strangers alike to Prosperity and Posterity.' In some cases the comments might be fuller. In v. 6 the rendering of R.V. is not even noticed; and neither in the translation nor notes does Dr. Barton appear to realize that his version, 'Do not speak . . . *for* it is an error,' is not the only possible way of taking the passage. The R.V. is again wholly ignored in that difficult verse, v. 9; and a more important omission is the consideration of the Hebrew accent there. Nor does the translation quite fit in with the notes. 'On the whole' is an expression which, in practice, does not express 'totality': we use 'absolutely' instead. The uncertainty, illustrated by the R.V. (*cf.* R.V. margin), as to the rendering of vii. 26 is not noticed. We should expect some reference to the Greek here, and to the conjunctive accent *darga*. In viii. 10, the words 'because they had done so' are puzzling: done what? And must we relinquish the word 'eternity' in iii. 11? The Greek supports the reading, and we think Dr. Barton too dogmatic in saying that the familiar rendering in A.V. 'makes no sense.' In ix. 9, it would be worth while to point out that 'Enjoy life' is in the original simply 'See life' (*cf.* R.V. margin), for we have the identical expression to-day. In the famous passage xii. 2-6, Dr. Barton finds, no doubt rightly, a 'picture of old age,' but one 'where metaphors change and intermingle with the richness of an Oriental imagination.' His review of the various interpretations is interesting.

An examination of the Critical Notes has disappointed us. Previous volumes of this series have led us to expect such

guidance as the student of Hebrew will really find helpful. The present volume offers information which in too many instances is superfluous, insufficient, and even misleading. These are no light accusations, and we are sorry there is so much evidence to support them. Would it not be somewhat surprising if, in a Commentary on Vergil intended for the use of students who are presumed to know the regular verbs, the writer were to occupy space by parsing words which should be familiar to a young schoolboy? Yet Dr. Barton takes the trouble to explain grammatical forms which should be obvious enough to a serious student of Hebrew within twelve months of his learning the alphabet.

Is it desired to make Ecclesiastes a first reader for elementary students? This word is a 'feminine participle'; that is a 'Poal participle'; another is a 'Piel participle.' Here is a 'Hiph-infinitive used adverbially'; there is a *qameç* of the pre-tone. One form is a Hiphil, another is a Niphal. Here is a feminine word making plural in *îm*. But the most curious instance of this feature of the notes is the statement that the definite article is 'here rightly pointed' (p. 141), where the allusion is to a perfectly regular and obvious pointing, to which the exceptions are so few as to be numbered by the fingers of one hand, with two or three fingers to spare after allowing for a dubious case.

Again, some notes seem insufficient. Chances are missed. For example, in speaking of the syntax of *mālákh* no mention is made of the frequent construction with *Bêth* (p. 85). In noticing *nûᵓḥ* we are not reminded of the two forms of the Hiphil, and the shade of meaning each supplies (pp. 94, 132). While supporting the Massoretic reading in iv. 14, Dr. Barton ignores the altogether anomalous pointing of the article (p. 121), the note being thus in odd contrast to that on vii. 2 (p. 141). In dealing with vii. 25 (p. 148) it is not observed that *késel* may be a genitive, with *résha'* in construct state. The accent would support this (see R.V. margin). There seems to be no particular reason for the note as to Baer's reading of ii. 3 (p. 89), for nothing is said about the possible force of *paseq* with *mûnaḥ*—a point well worth comment. Further the note as it stands is nearly useless, for *paseq* is printed as *waw*.

Few of the notes fortunately are actually misleading, but it is surprising to find any in a work of this kind. Tobiah-ben-Eleazar's comment (p. 67) is incorrectly translated: 'collects, assembles,' should be 'collects assemblies'; and '.among rabbis'

should be ' in public ' (*i.e.* ' among the many '). It is misleading to refer to strong *waw* with ending *-ah* as expressing ' purpose ' in i. 17 (p. 87). To say this is to say too much or too little. The cohortative ending may, no doubt, now and again add vivacity or even suggest ' the direction in which the will exerted itself ' (Driver, *Tenses*, § 72). But often there is no additional emphasis at all (*cf.* Davidson, *Syntax*, § 51, Rem. 7). A brief statement of the essential facts as to this verbal form would have been useful.

On the same page is another statement which surely needs qualification ; *Sheggám* is said to be 'not necessarily a late expression,' an assertion supported by a reference to Gen. vi. 3 (J). But, notoriously, its occurrence there is open to question. Some texts read *Shaggām* (the rest read *Shaggám*, not *Sheggám*) and it has been claimed as an infinitive of a verb ' to wander.' Thus ' for that he also is flesh ' would be ' on account of their wandering [*i.e.* error] he is flesh.' No clear instance of the relative *shin* occurs in the Pentateuch (outside one or two doubtful proper names), and therefore this isolated passage can hardly be relied upon, even if the pointing were undisputed. In noticing the textual emendation proposed for the last word of ii. 25 (third person instead of first) is Dr. Barton justified in saying that the received text ' gives no intelligible meaning ' ? (p. 97). Surely it is conceivable that Qoheleth is claiming that no one has tasted life more freely than he has. Undoubtedly the reading of the LXX. and Vulgate &c. is more edifying (see R.V. marg.) but the old reading at least is possible. In iii. 21, we cannot help thinking that Dr. Barton is over-bold in correcting Gesenius-Kautzsch in regard to the pointing of the interrogative particle. Is there any clear instance where it occurs with *qameç* before gutturals ? The only passage here cited is Num. xvi. 22. But did not the Massoretes intend the article and not the particle there ? (see Ges.-K. § 100 *m*). And surely Isa. xxvii. 6, has nothing to do with the case. In v. 1 (Hebrew iv. 17) we find it stated that ' analogies can be adduced for the plural ' (of ' foot '), p. 124. But the reference is to a passage (Ps. cxix. 59) which gives a dual form ! The only instances of the plural of *réghel* (there are four) are without any suffix ; and they only occur in the phrase ' three times ' (*i.e.* paces, steps) ! Again, is Qoheleth inaccurate in ii. 6, in using the masculine for ' therefrom ' ? (p. 90). We are told that *mēhém* should be *mēhén* to agree with ' pools ' (fem.). But is not the concord rather with ' waters ' (masc.) ? Trees are watered from what a pool contains, unless the pool is dry.

The masculine seems appropriate enough, particularly as it is the nearer word to 'therefrom.' Another misleading note is that on p. 66, where we are told that the root Q H L 'in Aram. is used in Ni. and Hi. in the same meanings as in Heb.' But Aramaic does not know a Niphal; and the Hebrew Hiphil is the Aramaic Haphel conjugation.

It is unfortunate for the book that the proofs have been read carelessly. Misprints abound. We have noticed a hundred in this work of little over 200 pages. They are found in the Hebrew, the English and the Greek. Those in Hebrew words are usually unimportant, but it is strange that the Greek of Ecclesiastes should appear as if it were Ecclĕsiastes, that Theodotion should invariably be spelled 'Theodotian,' and Plumptre 'Plumtre.'

The Background of the Gospels, or Judaism in the Period between the Old and New Testaments. By W. FAIRWEATHER, M.A., Minister of Dunnikier United Free Church, Kirkcaldy. (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1908.) 8*s.* net.

MR. FAIRWEATHER has made this subject peculiarly his own, being already known by an article on the 'Development of Doctrine in the Apocryphal Period' in the Extra Volume of Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible* and by his edition of 1 Maccabees in the *Cambridge Bible.* In these 'Cunningham Lectures' he gives us a general survey of the fundamental characteristics of Judaism, in Palestine and in the Diaspora, tracing the growth of the legalistic conception of religion from its beginnings in the book of Ezekiel down to the destruction of Jerusalem. A lucid picture is presented of the opposing tendencies of the national life during this period; the writer admits the difficulty of tracing any single line of development running through the varying phenomena, but holds that in general 'the later Judaism represents a religion in the stage of transition from a narrower to a wider phase. We see here the national on the way to become the universal, and ceremonial in process of being superseded by the spiritual.' The importance of the Maccabaean revolt as 'the water-shed of post-exilic Judaism' is well brought out, and the history of that movement and its sequel, with the alternating ascendency of the Sadducaean and the Pharisaic parties, is briefly sketched. But it is with the literature and the development of doctrine pourtrayed in it, rather than with the external history, that the author is chiefly concerned, and the chapters dealing with the Apocalyptic movement and Hellenistic

Judaism will be read with most interest. Among the Apocalyptic writings, which have been well described as 'Tracts for bad times,' and are rightly, we think, regarded by Mr. Fairweather as 'essentially lay literature, books emanating from the comparatively uneducated section of the people,' we miss any reference to the little-known *Book of Antiquities* of pseudo-Philo, of which a critical edition is still needed. The writer has not attempted to deal fully with the bearings of his subject upon the New Testament, but the student of the Gospels will find here many sidelights on their language which fully justify the title of the book. If no strikingly novel views are advanced, it is convenient to find brought together in a single volume, written with sane judgement and in an attractive style, matter which the student has hitherto had to look for in various quarters or in voluminous works. The Appendices contain a bibliography and a collection of extracts from recent authorities, English and foreign; a translation of the German passages might have been welcome to some readers.

A Short Grammar of the Greek New Testament. For Students familiar with the Elements of Greek. By A. T. ROBERTSON, D.D., Professor of New Testament Interpretation, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Ky. (Hodder and Stoughton. 1908.) 6*s.* net.

GRAMMARS of New Testament Greek have been rather abundant of late, and more are yet to come. But students of the Greek Testament, happily, are and always will be numerous, and their needs are not all alike. There is room, we think, for a work such as this, intended to fill an intermediate place between the elaborate works of *e.g.* Winer-Moulton, J. H. Moulton, or Blass, and the more elementary treatises for beginners. The student at the clergy training college and the busy pastor will find much sound learning in this volume compressed into a small space. The writer is conversant with the latest authorities, but takes a line of his own. He keeps in view the place which the New Testament occupies in the development of the language as a whole. He is a Sanskrit scholar, and his purview ranges from the Indo-European origins to the final resultant in modern Greek. The principles on which the student should proceed are briefly and soundly stated, and he is left to apply them himself to the list of illustrative passages which closes each section. The book is never dull, though at times, from a desire for brevity, the style

drops into mere notes or jottings, and the English is occasionally slipshod (*e.g.* p. 205, 3). There are not a few misprints, which should be removed in the next edition, and some incorrect or questionable statements have been noted. For instance, on p. 40 (e) the single exception made to the correct statement as to the disappearance of reduplication from modern Greek does not in fact exist: for example, γραμμένος, not γεγραμμένος, is the vernacular form. The explanation of ὁ in ὁ ἦν (Apoc. i. 4) as a relative (p. 82) is untenable; it cannot be considered apart from the whole phrase in which the words occur.

Histoire des livres du Nouveau Testament. Par M. l'abbé E. Jacquier. Vols. III. and IV. (Paris: J. Gabalda et Cie. 1908). 3 *frs.* 50 each.

These volumes, which embrace the Acts of the Apostles, the Catholic Epistles, and the Johannine writings, are pervaded throughout by a spirit of resolute conservatism. The author has provided us with an almost overwhelming thesaurus of New Testament exegesis, past and present, parallel to which, as it were, he expounds his own. His work, learned and prolix as it is, would have been more valuable had he developed his *own* point of view with more thoroughness, and in the interests of this the too detailed analysis of contents might have been greatly curtailed. Thus on such debatable ground as 2 Peter something less sketchy than his somewhat unsatisfactory discussion is wanted. M. Jacquier accepts *in toto* the authenticity of the books ascribed by tradition to the 'beloved disciple.' St. John vii. 53–viii. 11 (*la femme adultère*) is apparently regarded as an organic part of the Gospel; so with chap. xxi., where, in his argument from the words μετὰ ταῦτα, the author balances a pyramid on a pin-point; verses 24-25 of the same chapter he regards as 'un façon de signature de l'écrivain: c'est moi, le disciple bien-aimé, qui écris cela.' Ultra-conservative ingenuity, surely, is hard put to it here. Especial mention must be made of the minute and valuable discussions on the various questions raised by the Acts of the Apostles. Speaking generally, with much that the learned abbé has to say we are in accord, notwithstanding the impression he somehow conveys that the problems of the New Testament are *causes jugées*, and that wholly in favour of the traditional view. We commend these volumes as scholarly examples of New Testament criticism from the Romanist side.

Epochs in the Life of Jesus. By A. T. ROBERTSON, D.D., Professor of New Testament Interpretation, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Ky. (Hodder and Stoughton. 1908.) 2*s.* 6*d.* net.

THE Introduction describes this book as 'the harvest of long . . . labour in the widest and richest of fields'; but the 'harvest' is, frankly, disappointing. Dr. Robertson's book, which gives a straightforward account of the important stages (why does the author talk of 'epochs'?) in our Lord's Life, traces the development of the struggle between Christ and His enemies, but with a superfluity of 'sermonizing' of a somewhat obvious kind. The style is a mixture of clear-cut description, rhetoric after the model of Edersheim, and a looseness of diction amounting to slang. The book, in fact, in endeavouring to dress up the Gospel story in modern garb, lacks dignity of treatment. The author, for example, comments thus unhappily on the miracle at Cana: 'The light wines of that time were taken with three parts of water, and were about like our tea and coffee. Jesus was no advocate of the modern saloon with its traffic in human souls'! (p. 33). Such a sentence, too, as this: 'Did the Sanhedrin believe in Jesus? Not much!' has its defects.

In so cursory a work the author would have done well to avoid scrappy discussions of difficult problems. The two or three pages on the Virgin Birth are hardly illuminating, while the sentence—'That is a conception capable of comprehension, that the Father should have a Son, a necessary corollary of Father in fact' (p. 11)—besides being grammatically chaotic, is theologically crude.

Spirit in the New Testament. By E. W. WINSTANLEY, B.D. (Cambridge University Press. 1908.) 3*s.* 6*d. net.*

THIS small volume deserves a warm welcome from students as a careful and reverent study of the New Testament references to the Person and work of the Holy Spirit. The systematic study of this subject is still too widely neglected; and, so far as the doctrine is studied, it is generally with the aid rather of small works of a devotional or theological character. In this respect the present inquiry fills a gap, supplying as it does in convenient form a complete list of passages which in any way bear upon the subject, with brief notes to each. In the second part the passages are arranged into groups, and the evidence is reviewed in connexion with the various writers or books of the New Testament.

The conclusions to which Mr. Winstanley has been led have somewhat influenced his statement of the evidence. For instance, in connexion with St. John's Gospel, there is only a scanty summary of the teaching, obscured by reference to the apparently divergent views of the Spirit's work found in the earlier and later chapters. It would have been well to give the summary clearly, and then to have reflected upon it. The development of the Church's teaching is an important study, and one that requires much more attention than it has up to the present received. The difficulties attending it are obvious, and so long as the historical authority of the Fourth Gospel remains undecided, the conclusions must differ widely. For those who think that the Synoptic Gospels give us the accurate and sufficient pourtrayal of the teaching of our Lord, it is natural to follow Mr. Winstanley. He is so impresssd by the fact that little is mentioned, that he is led to challenge the historical accuracy of even that little. He concludes that there is no well-established assertion by Jesus claiming the Holy Spirit as the inspirer of His message and work. But we believe that it is being steadily recognized that the Synoptic Gospels preserve only a very incomplete tradition of our Lord's teaching, and that there was deeper teaching of spiritual facts, which was at the time but dimly apprehended, and by only a few minds. This teaching would of necessity be linked on to the Old Testament, in some instances directly, at other times as an outcome of our Lord's consciousness. We believe St. Luke iv. 16 *sqq.* (the incident in the synagogue at Nazareth) represents the former, and were disappointed to find that Mr. Winstanley is content to challenge the place which St. Luke has given it in his Gospel, and to let it drop out of sight. Even if the incident did not happen at the very beginning of the ministry, its value as evidence of our Lord's claims may still be recognized. If so, it certainly suggests that His teaching to the inner circle would turn to such passages of the prophets.

This agrees with another feature in our Lord's character, the place which the Old Testament Scriptures occupy for Himself. It is impossible to study His life without finding that His mind and spirit were steeped in their deepest teaching. To a wonderful extent the Scriptures lie behind His Life and teaching. We know how He spoke with authority on its contents. Even on such subjects as the defilement by meats His comments were only understood later. 'This He said making all meats clean' illustrates the difficulty found in grasping His teaching,

so that we can readily understand that the difficulty would still more be felt with His teaching upon the Spirit. It may have been only in the light of Christian experience that the intelligent memory of His words began. Even then the New Testament goes to shew that only a few minds, *e.g.* St. Paul and St. Luke and St. John, gave the teaching a central place in the life of the Church.

How little hold this doctrine had taken of the Church generally may be seen in the writings of the sub-Apostolic age. These writings explain clearly the sense of need which led St. John to write the Gospel which contains a lifetime of Christian experience, but also, we are convinced, teaching given by our Lord as the foundation and source of all. In this Gospel one recognizes the naturalness of such statements as 'Peace I leave with you . . . let not your heart be troubled' in the period immediately before the arrest, and the historical situation here supposed renders natural the further teaching about the Advocate, which in itself is akin to that hinted at in the Synoptic Gospels. To admit this makes one expect previous preparation bearing upon the place of the Spirit in the Messianic Kingdom.

One other point requires explanation. St. Peter understood from the first that the phenomena of Pentecost were the fulfilment of the Old Testament expectation and promise. Even if it be only the external aspect of the Holy Spirit's power that is first seen, can that be understood unless we admit a good deal more preparation of the disciples' minds than is actually recorded or hinted at in the Synoptic Gospels?

In conclusion, may we draw attention to an instance of misreading evidence. On p. 135, after dwelling upon the place which the Holy Spirit occupied in St. Luke's outlook, Mr. Winstanley adds: 'Nevertheless the fact remains that it is in Luke's work alone that the efficient cause of the various stages of the Church's growth is so frequently and regularly identified with the Holy Spirit.' Where else could we expect to find it?

II.—Metaphysics and Philosophy of Religion.

The Logic of Will. A Study in Analogy. By Helen Wodehouse, D.Phil. (Birm.). xx, 157. (Macmillan and Co. 1908.) 3*s.* 6*d.* net.

The main purpose of the present work is to suggest analogies 'between the two sides of our experience which we call the world

of knowing and endeavour.' 'Every process of experience,' we are told, 'is on the one side a presentation process, and on the other side an action process, and mere psychological description seems to show that these two sides are rhythmical in all their important features, that object works on subject and subject on object in the same sort of way' (pp. 1, 152). It will be seen that the psychological description of the facts is one which assumes that the world can be stated in terms of states of consciousness; and indeed we are told that knowledge is not 'the contemplation of certain "facts" which are independent of our experience of them'—a view rather strangely identified with the correspondence theory of truth (p. 109)—but that in being known the object-world modifies its own objective nature (p. 58). In fact, cognition and conation are regarded as two modes in which the self interacts with the not-self, truth and good being alike that which is satisfactory in either process of interaction. But whereas in cognition the process is initiated from the side of the not-self, *viz.* in sensation, it is initiated in conation from the side of the self, in craving. Hence, in tracing the analogies we must remember that the 'conative self' corresponds with the 'cognitive not-self,' and *vice-versa*. For example, my endeavours result in altering the world in which I seek to carry them out, called here my 'conative environment'; similarly, the world about me, my cognitive not-self, as the result of a process of cognition, leaves my cognitive self altered in respect of intelligence and tractability (p. 58). Again, we may believe 'that the world is such as to yield to our intellectual demands'; 'though the cognitive world as appearance is full of discord, yet as reality it is perfectly harmonious'; the corresponding 'conative argument' would be not that the world 'will yield to our moral demands,' but that, 'though in appearance we are full of conflicting desires, still in reality we are such that we might be wholly and perfectly satisfied' (pp. 116, 117). Once more, an endeavour may fail because of intractable environment; the parallel case on the side of cognition is not that a train of thought should fail on account of the difficulty of the matter, 'confusion and complication in the presentations themselves,' but on account of stupidity or some such defect in the cognitive subject (pp. 66, 67).

A protest may be made in passing against the loose use of the words 'world' and 'universe,' which is becoming popular in psychological writing. It would probably be said that the words only mean a whole of some kind; but why use words

which denote the biggest wholes? Is it not too much like the newspaper slang which speaks of the world of golf or the world of bridge? And in fact it tends to conceal important philosophical issues. We read in the present volume of the world of need, of divers and overlapping worlds of cognition, and of knowledge and will as two worlds (p. 75); and yet surely in each we are concerned with the same world, and the other language helps to make false comparisons possible. The author has not indeed formulated any philosophical position, but states that she writes broadly from that of an Hegelian idealist. It seems to us that much of the argument rests on what Henry Sidgwick called 'mentalism.' When a belief establishes itself in my mind, it 'leaves an effect on my mind for one thing'; but it also 'means a modification of the not-self, and still more of the not-self as it appears in my world of knowledge' (p. 57). Now 'the not-self as it appears in my world of knowledge' means presumably certain states of myself—*i.e.* something which would not exist if I did not exist, and which with convenient vagueness may be called my experience; to call this the world is mentalism. But what, as distinct from this, is the mere not-self, and how can that be modified by changes in my belief?

Besides the analogies between the spheres of knowledge and will, so far as the processes are independent, we are introduced in Chapter II. to analogies in their interaction with each other. This chapter shews indeed that knowing and willing are implicated together; but it gets analogies by regarding as cognitive the impulse that is exhibited in endeavouring to understand things, and as conative the understanding that is displayed in the pursuit of our ends.

Another kind of analogy altogether is, however, also suggested between our conative and our cognitive natures, *viz.* that as there is one intelligence in all of us seeking to reach a common truth, so there is one disposition seeking to realize a common good; and that for this reason the real intelligence in all of us would agree, and the real needs be fulfilled by the same things. But the author thinks this analogy more dubious. She develops with a good deal of penetration some of the difficulties that beset the notion of a common good, and is prepared to make dangerous admissions as to the identity of knowledge. 'If there were a being who had no difficulty in clearly and steadily believing contradictions, then these would not invalidate the truth of his experience' (p. 84). Surely, if the hypothesis is to have any meaning, the admission that follows abolishes knowledge.

There is only space to refer very briefly to the other main thesis of the book—*viz.* as to the meaning of good. Good is defined as what fulfils a need—any need whatever, such as the craving of a morphiomaniac (pp. 11, 113). However, a man's 'greatest good' is what brings most fulfilment to the needs of his whole nature; and it is pointed out with great force that we have no measure of needs (ch. 4). This view of the meaning of good is contrasted with the intuitionist's, that it is a peculiar property in good things; and he is supposed, because he thinks that goodness cannot be defined in other terms, to think that goods cannot differ in kind. Similarly, 'this ought to be' is said to mean 'this is what is needed'; but if need covers craving, surely we may ask whether what is needed ought to be. The author defends herself against the intuitionist by saying that 'we have become rather more confirmed in the habit of trying to explain everything in terms of other things' (p. 14). The habit may go too far.

The Problem of Theism, and other Essays. By A. C. Pigou, Professor of Political Economy, Cambridge. (Macmillan and Co. 1908.) 3*s.* net.

It is very doubtful whether it was judicious for a young Professor of Political Economy to publish in book-form these sketches in fields where he regards himself as occupied only with by-work. As papers read before societies, to initiate discussion or for the clearing of the writer's own mind, they did very well; but 'tentative' and 'provisional' as he confesses them to be, he would have been better advised had he retained them for further working out. As it is, he who would run with Mr. Pigou must run very fast. The façades of great philosophical structures rise before us, but we only pause before them for a brief glance, with a rapid criticism, until we arrive at the author's own somewhat shadowy residence. In philosophy, for example, we are told that the whole structures of Green and Caird rest upon plausibilities so weak that they amount to being solely due to an ambiguity of terms, and their untenability is so 'obvious' that a single page suffices to annul the work of two of the principal teachers of recent British philosophy.

However, taking the sketches for what they are, we can allow that there is a crispness and a vivacity in Mr. Pigou's rapid march, especially in the corrosive criticisms which fly in every direction. His own positions are, in brief, these. In metaphysics he stands for a 'Critical Realism,' *i.e.* realism because we know a real

world, but ' critical ' because we know appearances also, and we can distinguish between these and reality. As to freedom, determinism is neither proved nor probable: after considering Dr. M'Taggart's objections, Mr. Pigou stands with Sidgwick upon the validity of the verdict of introspection, and the common-sense belief in freedom may continue. In ethics, the good is known by direct perception, and he accepts the possibility that the good of one individual may be incompatible with that of other people without feeling obliged to regard this as fatal to the theory, or as necessitating, as Sidgwick thought, reference to a future life. The essays on Nietzsche, Browning, and Meredith are suggestive. He mitigates the current hostility to Nietzsche by means of the distinction between means and ends: Nietzsche, he thinks, sought the ends of common men, but was angry with the means approved by modern thought; while his Over-man is not a reality, but a methodological device, like the Stoic's Wise Man, for lifting our thoughts above the concrete ethical ideas embodied in contemporary civilization. As for Browning and Meredith, they are both optimists, but in different senses. Their attitudes are therefore quite personal, no valid grounds for them being shewn: they are poets, and must not be mistaken for philosophers. A brief paper on the ethics of the Gospels runs parallel in its treatment: we must not look there either for reasoned ethics, or for system; they contain intuitive perceptions of good, propounded *more prophetico*, and on occasions not comprehensively. In Mr. Pigou's claim that the Love which is taken to be fundamental is that Pure or Disinterested love in which regard for self disappears, we touch one of the most acute problems of ethical psychology.

The essay on ' the Problem of Theism ' is the longest in the volume, and contains the most solid work. Mr. Pigou's position is that it is in religious experiences that we have the proper field for scientific theism to work in: it is reflexion upon these which constitutes the true philosophy of religion for our day. For himself he is able, by resting ultimately in the Realism of his first essay, to allow some probability to certain limited elements of theistic doctrine. He considers with some care objections taken to the validity of the recorded experiences of mankind as material for such reflexion, and decides in their favour. But the outcome of the reflexions which he has applied is neither far-reaching nor copious—spirituality, power, and will-for-good are the constituents of the theistic idea; the data do not justify us in inferring either unity, or omnipotence,

or even supremacy, and we must not stretch beyond relationship to the human field from which we started to inferences about the whole universe. The design argument is discussed acutely, Mr. Pigou's decision being against it both as to its datum and its inference. But he expressly sets small store upon the speculative elements in religion; it is the relation to Will and Feeling which gives the substance to religious conviction. At the same time, he disallows the value-judgement theory, though here it seems that he has a misconception of what this theory aims at, and that in reality he is in agreement with what the theory means. On the whole there are some good points in this essay, but its general result is so obviously out of all proportion to the variety and richness of religious experience that its tentative character is manifest. Yet its quality is such as to lead us to hope that though Mr. Pigou is now in charge of the teaching and study of political economy at Cambridge he will not desert the fields so rapidly traversed in the papers before us, but eventually reach some richer and more positive results than his first adventures have brought him. It is well-known that Sidgwick lamented his own failure to leave anything like a School behind him, and had, indeed, grave suspicions as to this being due to the over-critical character of his own mind. Miss Constance Jones valiantly continues his teaching in ethics, especially on its positively intuitional and utilitarian sides; but in Mr. Pigou's general standpoints, both negative and positive, we have the nearest approach to a thoroughgoing discipleship.

What is Religion? By WILHELM BOUSSET. Translated by F. B. LOW. (London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1907.) 5*s.* net.

THIS is in many ways a book of high value. Dr. Bousset is one of the new school of German theologians, who write for the main body of educated people rather than for the student class, and his book ought to be useful to many in our own country who have but little time for study. We do not know of any book which gives within so small a compass so much valuable information about the great religions of the world, and even where we least agree with the author, he states his case so fairly that we often find in his own pages the very arguments which we should urge against him.

The book frequently reminds us of Professor Harnack's *What is Christianity?* but, as the title implies, the subject is wider. Dr. Bousset's purpose is to vindicate the abiding necessity of religion, and to shew how Christianity, as he understands

it, is the final and perfect religion in which all that is best in other religions finds its place and its completion. Religion, he maintains, is 'a fundamental element in the mental life of mankind, of a primary and not a derivative character.' It is quite distinct from the universal fear of ghostly presences. It is a 'feeling of self-surrender to the Godhead, and healthy religion must always contain an element of personal interest'; it must be 'personal relationship, a desire to surrender, but likewise to receive.' Moreover, it 'implies choice,' the entering into definite relationship with one out of many, with the chosen object of our worship in contrast with others who might receive it. Having laid down these fundamental positions, the author proceeds to a most interesting classification of the great religions of the world. Chapter II. gives us 'The Religion of Savages—Tribal Religion.' Here Dr. Bousset holds, with St. Paul, that the savage 'recognizes Almighty God, but prefers to enter into relation with lower spirits, fetiches, spirits of ancestors.' In Chapter III. we have 'National Religions,' much being said of the religion of Babylon. In Chapter IV. we have 'The Prophets and the Religion of the Prophets,' giving the writer's view, not only of the prophets of Israel but of Zarathustra and the great teachers of the Greeks. Chapter V. gives us 'The Religions of the Law—Judaism, Zoroastrianism, Islamism'; Chapter VI. 'The Religions of Redemption—Buddha, Plato'; while in Chapters VII. and VIII. 'The Nature and Future of Christianity' are dealt with.

What strikes us at once in this classification is that Dr. Bousset gives nothing like its true place to the preparatory religion of Israel, and separates within it the Law from the Prophets in a way which the Prophets themselves would not for a moment have countenanced. His view of the religion of Israel is neither clear nor consistent. He seems unwilling to separate it from the other imperfect religions of the world, and yet is continually being brought up against facts which make this separation inevitable. Thus, for example, he says that the 'bond between Jehovah and His people was a perfectly natural one,' like that, apparently, of other tribal divinities to their people; and yet he frankly points out that the relation in the case of Jehovah is represented as resting upon a divine choice. Obviously, if Jehovah chose one nation out of many, He had a fundamental relation to all nations, and the bond between Himself and the chosen people was not at all a merely natural one. So again, though Dr. Bousset represents the inspiration

of the prophets as nothing more than the possession of strong moral convictions, he points out that in the religion of Babylon there are no traces of prophetic personalities, and that to say that the prophets of Israel are the spiritual scholars of Babylon 'is the same as saying that the sculptor stands in a spiritual relation to the quarryman.' The same kind of hesitation appears in the account of the relation of the Prophets to the Law. On the one hand they are represented as individualistic reformers protesting against tradition, law, custom, and popular usage, while on the other hand we are told that the early prophets of Israel were zealous supporters of the worship in the Temple. The fact, of course, is that, so far from the prophets being individualistic reformers and originators, they were essentially true members of the body corporate of Israel, recalling their people to the ancestral religion to which they had been unfaithful.

We think that the most valuable part of the book is found in Chapters V. and VI., where the author points out that, while the Religions of the Law fail to be Religions of Life, and the Religions of Redemption lose hold upon morality, Christianity provides us with a religion which is a religion both of morality and of new life. The characteristics of the legal religions are admirably pointed out. All alike tend to lose the universal character, which monotheism ought to give to them, by the importance which they attach to the observance of purely national customs. Religion threatens to fall into ruin through an excess of regulations. Creeds and sacred books become too important, and the learned, who have studied the sacred books, too important also. 'There is no conception of religion as a spontaneous stretching forth towards God, or that the good life, as God wishes it, is a unity, a whole.' In the Religions of Redemption, on the other hand, there is an earnest attempt to believe in and to strive after a higher life. But this is done to the disparagement of ordinary human life, the thought of God grows dim, and morality is relegated to an inferior position. Now Christianity, Dr. Bousset urges, unites the good points of both these types of religion while avoiding their characteristic weaknesses. Jesus freed religion from nationality, from ceremonial observances, and from the tyranny of erudition. On the other hand, the teaching of the Gospel 'rests on the most profound sense of the dignity and individuality of human life.' 'In comprehending God as the Creator, the Doer, the Preserver, the Father of our spiritual and higher nature, the Gospel at the

same time carries the personal energy of the human being to its highest development.' The parables of Jesus shew how well He understood the common life, and with what loving eyes He regarded it. He taught that the one true connecting link between the spiritual and the moral was right doing.

All this is admirable. Unhappily, when Dr. Bousset comes to speak of Christianity as a Religion of Redemption, the poverty of his view of our Lord's Person and work becomes at once apparent. Of his admiration for our Lord's Personality there can be no doubt: there is a magnificent passage on pp. 235–237 dealing with 'the authoritative consciousness of Christ's personality' which seems to bring us to the very verge of the Catholic Faith; but somehow the step which we long for him to take he never does take, and the result is that he is unable to shew that Christianity is a Religion of Life after all. We are told of our Lord's revelation of the forgiving character of God, that 'when man aspires to God, the old passes away and a new life is born'—would that it were so!—and of the redemption to be accomplished in a future life; but of our Lord as a living and present Redeemer Dr. Bousset seems to know nothing. Though he admits that belief in Christ became the central idea in the very first community of Christians, and that all that was new in St. Paul's teaching was the central position and the importance given to the doctrine of salvation, yet this belief in Christ and His Atonement, together with the whole doctrine of the Sacraments, seems to be regarded as a conception substantially due to St. Paul. The chapter on the 'Future of Christianity' is equally disappointing. We are told that 'the question of the future of Christianity is the question of the future of religion,' and that Christianity is the only living religion that concerns us; but we fear that by the time we have omitted from the Christian faith all that Dr. Bousset is indisposed to accept, and altered its moral ideal so as to accept, as he wishes us to do, Goethe and Bismarck as recognized types of Christian excellence, not much will be left of Christianity to justify our use of the word.

The Mystical Element of Religion, as studied in Saint Catherine of Genoa and her Friends. By Baron Friedrich von Hügel. Two Volumes. (J. M. Dent and Co. 1908.) 21s. net.

Thirty years of reflexion and research, expressed in seven years of writing, entitle the distinguished Roman Catholic author of these spacious volumes to our respectful attention.

They contain a philosophy of religion, combined with the study of a saintly personality. A student of religious philosophy has desired a companion of his pilgrim way with whom he might confer and test his wide-ranging ideas: he has turned from his contemporaries to a period of religious history when the undivided Church of the West moved free from some of the lines which have divided modern Protestantism from post-Reformation Romanism, and has found in Catherine Fiesca Adorna (1447–1510), now known as St. Catherine of Genoa, a character which can answer many of his questionings and illustrate many of his conclusions. As a published work this is a somewhat notable experiment: a philosophical and religious position is advocated in manifold relations and in many ramifications, and it is frankly brought to the test of tenability by being shewn to have been the vital belief of a distinguished and saintly character. Mysticism is expounded on general lines, and point after point finds illustration in the thought and experience of a noble character.

Baron von Hügel's equipment is of singularly wide range. Philosophy and the most recent psychological science are at his disposal as well as the general course of Church history and Christian thought, and especially the records of inner religious experiences. We know of no treatment of mysticism which is supported by a harvesting so prolonged in fields so varied and extensive.

We would assure our readers at the outset that in this study they are not invited to deal with morbidity either of body or mind: neither in the philosophy of Baron von Hügel nor in the saintliness of Catherine does the extraordinary in the sense of the contra-natural play any part. To this very topic the Baron has given careful attention, and what he contributes upon it is one of the most original and fruitful parts of his work. He has studied psycho-physics in the works of Fechner, Janet, Binet, Boutroux and James: he knows that nervous conditions and subconscious workings account for many phenomena in the way of visions and ecstasies, and holds that such manifestations are not at all confined to religious persons, but accompany high energizings in philosophers and poets, and even in men of action, nearly all of whom have nervous and mental organizations of unusual sensibility. He is clear that we must always estimate such manifestations by their efficacy in furthering the normal life, never for themselves. And he finds that Catherine entirely illustrates this. She had few visions, indeed only three acknowledged as such by herself; her imagery was not of persons and

scenes such as the Passion, nor sentimental fancies, but she thought of God as Light, Fire, Beauty, Truth. She had sometimes periods of psychical or psycho-physical states of a *maladif* kind, but she well knew their true nature, and neither from these nor from her ecstasies did she draw anything to shape her thought. Readers may therefore be at ease that they are not here invited into regions of morbidity which they would find repellent, and which would beforehand vitiate the force and attraction of the views advocated.

Mysticism is taken by Baron von Hügel as one of three 'elements' in religion, and not as the whole. It is the name for the deep region of the intuitions and the inner experiences of the soul. The other elements are Institutionalism—the religious life as expressed in the beliefs and practices of historical churches—and Rationalism, the beliefs arrived at by conscious reflexion. This threefold division is of course of long standing: Varro enunciated it in his distinction of religion as held by poets, by magistrates, and by philosophers; and though it must not be pressed everywhere—*e.g.* it is not parallel with feeling, will, and reason, as Baron von Hügel follows so many in thinking—it is the best classificatory instrument for religious history that has been found. Our author applies it over tracts of philosophy and of historical religion; within Christianity, in the New Testament, in the early Church, in the Middle Ages, and at the Reformation; and since the Reformation he sees it breaking forth in the Jesuits, the Dominicans, and the Franciscans in the Roman Communion, in the High, the Broad, and the Evangelical in the Anglican Church. As illustrations in individuals, he offers Bossuet, Richard Simon, and Fénelon—with whom we would compare our Caroline divines, Tillotson, and the Cambridge Platonists. As instances of the combination of all three elements he suggests Newman and Rosmini, with whom we venture to associate Maurice, Church, and Hort, and for Scotland, Chalmers.

After a preliminary statement occupying some eighty pages, the portraiture of Catherine follows in great detail, with an exposition of her principal 'doctrines.' The scale of this part of the work is too extensive: we cannot but think that the author judged ill in attaching to his presentation of Mysticism so great a weight as this highly worked biography together with the critical apparatus of materials by which he has constructed it. And for Catherine herself, we doubt whether his hope will be justified that many of us will be able to raise her to one of the highest places in our calendar of the geniuses of religion. Baron

von Hügel himself finds her more congenial than even St. Teresa: at this first reading at any rate that experience is far from being our own, nor is it, we think, likely to be common. Still, she is a noble character, and we must quote what is, we think, her greatest thought: 'I cannot find words to appropriate so great a love. But this I can say with truth, that if of what my heart feels one drop were to fall into Hell, Hell itself would altogether turn into Eternal Life.' For this saying alone she is entitled to our respectful salutations, and to a permanent place among the personalities who inspire those who come after them.

After the biography and the exposition of Catherine's doctrines we resume the general treatment of mysticism, and it is this part of the work which will give the book a high place in the philosophy of religion. Space wholly fails for a discussion of the many problems raised. We can only say that Baron von Hügel has faced the task of setting the mystical element into complete articulation with the other constituents of religion, and not only with those but with the whole range of human life. He is perfectly aware of the force of the charges brought against it that it makes for detachment and isolation and individualism: he grapples with these as objections, and he turns round and restates mysticism as a positive feature of the life of the soul which can be associated with its other features in a single unity. He does this with reference to the moral life, to the problem of evil, to the ordinary interests, occupations, and affections of humanity, to the social life, to science, and to the life beyond the grave. To all of these problems for mysticism he applies his great learning, and more than that, certain great principles which animate his thought. Especially powerful are his treatment of the problem of evil, which he candidly acknowledges to remain unsolved but which he boldly regards as positive and treats not by reference to substance and accident, but as lying in the region of the will; and his treatment of science, as to which he contends that all its legitimate claims are consistent with what is due to a true mysticism. In his highly condensed but comprehensive treatment of the future life he finds a significant confirmation in Catherine's thought of the necessity of Purgatory both in this life and in the next: her welcome of it as a cleansing fire, because it is addressed to the soul in its true nature as partaking of the Divine nature, the fire itself being no other than the Divine love. In this, which Baron von Hügel rightly adjudges to be 'the noblest legacy' of her thought, Catherine has won a recognition in the general literature of

religion, as it is her view which is expressed in Newman's *Dream of Gerontius*. By the critical work in this last section, and still more by the constructive principles which are employed, we have a presentation of the mystical element in religion such as is nowhere else to be found, in English literature at least. No one can fairly demand our attention on the subject of mysticism, either as its defender or its opponent, who has not made his account with Baron von Hügel's apologia.

It is not, we trust, ungracious on the part of an English review to express a wish that a writer who has sojourned among us so long and has so sympathetically watched our own religious life and thought had added a few more months to his already prolonged labour in order to smooth out the expression of his thought in our language. There are passages which suggest that the underlying thought was first formulated in German, and some of these will give trouble to unravel. They are, however, all within the reader's power to recast for himself, and when this is done progress can be resumed. This said, we have pleasure in adding that over long ranges complete success is attained both as to lucidity and vigour, and we have marked not a few passages in which a high level of expository and critical expression is attained. Full as the volumes are of biographical material, of philosophical argument, and of historical review, it is no small achievement that they vibrate so often with a noble, dignified, and persuasive eloquence.

The Seeming Unreality of the Spiritual Life. By Henry Churchill King, President of Oberlin College. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1908.) 6*s.* 6*d.* net.

Dr. King's lectures before the Divinity School of Yale University, printed here in somewhat different form, are both useful in themselves and typical of the present current of apologetics. He deals with the reasons for the apparent unreality of the spiritual life, differentiating between causes of this unreality which can be removed and causes which are necessary and intrinsic, but lose their force when recognized as such. The standpoint adopted is that of a moderate follower of Professor James in philosophy, and of the Ritschlians, especially Herrmann, in theology. Dr. King deals effectively with many current misconceptions, he exposes the absurdity of much that he characterizes as 'biological thinking on spiritual themes,' and has a useful chapter on the necessary restrictions of metaphysics due to the absence from its scope

of those historical data which have their own important place in a construction of the meaning of the world. Moreover, he does well to point out that the spiritual life is not an intense effort always to maintain consciously the same psychological state. His Ritschlian sympathies are apparent in his treatment of the relation of religion to ethics, though this argument, which starts from the justification of the ethical and seeks to draw out all that that implicates, ought by this time to have made its way to the forefront of all Christian apologetics. In this connexion Dr. King argues that the spiritual must not obtrude itself, God must refuse to man the incontrovertible evidence of His existence which some demand, if man is to be a free moral being and not a mere puppet. The positive argument for the reality of the spiritual life starts from the fact of Christ, along with the assumption that the world is not absurd and intolerable. As to the method of spiritual life he insists on the closest relation with the inner life of Christ, and personal relations with men through a life of love. The book closes with two chapters on Christian doctrine; the author naturally brings doctrine into close relation with personal experience and criticizes the divisions between doctrines made by Herrmann, for whom some doctrines cannot be related to experience, though we are not convinced that he has quite rightly grasped Herrmann's meaning. In his closing words on immortality he makes much of the quality of Christ's Life and the trustworthiness of His teaching: we are glad to see, too, that he is not inclined to make little of the historical evidence for the resurrection of Jesus, and finds genuine religious value in it as a fact of history. The whole book is a suggestive contribution to a subject which often troubles even convinced Christians.

III.—History and Antiquities.

The Cambridge Modern History. Volume V. *The Age of Louis XIV.* Volume XI. *The Growth of Nationalities.* (Cambridge University Press. 1908, 1909.) 16*s.* each net.

With the issue of the two volumes now before us the editors of the *Cambridge Modern History* approach very near to the completion of the important enterprise which was planned by Lord Acton. Probably the success attained would not have satisfied that most exacting of modern historians. But there can be no doubt that, for the general public, the achievement is really a great one. European history since the Reformation is made accessible, and readable too, by the work of specialists,

in a way which until recently would have been impossible, and which succeeds in giving to English readers something of the general knowledge in which, by comparison with educated people abroad, they have hitherto been conspicuously deficient. We have never minimized the defects of the *Cambridge Modern History*, but we do not hesitate to say that its volumes ought to be read by all who take a serious interest in history.

The age of Louis XIV. has for so long been studied with minute accuracy by Continental specialists, and in its English aspect has been elucidated with such success by the labours of the late Dr. S. R. Gardiner, that it may well have proved comparatively easy to summarize the work that had been done when the volume before us was undertaken. The chapters are the work partly of specialists, partly of writers who are accustomed to follow where specialists have led and are able to appreciate and popularize their results. But there are also writers concerned who at times remind one of Disraeli's witticism about Colenso, that he had begun his theological studies after he had grasped the crozier. To the first class belongs, of course, Professor Firth, who gives a quite admirable sketch of the period of the Stewart Restoration down to the fall of Clarendon, years which no man knows, or probably ever has known, so minutely as he. Assisted by the careful industry in verification of Miss D. K. Broster, Dr. Firth has built up a mass of information in which every contemporary source, in manuscript or print, has presented its contribution and finds its due place. The chapter inserted here is a model of balance, of careful expression, and of just judgement; and in nothing is this more evident than in the treatment of ecclesiastical questions, in which it is in marked contrast to the work, a little later in the volume, of a writer much less acquainted with contemporary authority. Next to Dr. Firth we are disposed to rank Mr. George Edmundson, in his luminous survey of the history of Holland, and Professor Bury, most accomplished of omnivorous researchers, on the early history of Russia and the preparation for Peter the Great. A new writer, who belongs to our second class, is Mr. H. W. V. Temperley, who, without much direct personal labour among archives, has acquired a working knowledge of historical literature which makes his writing—as, for example, on the party strife of Queen Anne's reign—of considerable value. Foreign scholars give their assistance, and at least two valuable contributions come from Ireland. Mr. Kaufmann's study of 'Latitudinarianism and Pietism' is skilful and interesting. The

connexion of English thought as well as English politics with the politics and thought of the European Continent is in this as in previous volumes very happily emphasized. Military history is very well dealt with by Mr. C. T. Atkinson. The only unsatisfactory chapter indeed is that on 'Religious Toleration in England,' which is quite unworthy of its writer's high reputation. It not only adds nothing whatever to our knowledge, but also not infrequently gives distinctly incorrect views of men, tendencies, and books. When the *Cambridge Modern History* is revised—as comes to the lot of all encyclopaedic literature nowadays—this chapter, which is entirely otiose and out of proportion to the rest of the book, might well be omitted.

If the age of Louis XIV. never entirely loses its interest, the critical central years of the nineteenth century are so close to us still that we may predict for the volume on the *Growth of Nationalities* a very large circle of keenly excited readers. No doubt in some parts of the history there is still a great deal buried in the secret recesses of European chanceries: we certainly do not yet know all about the political history of the Eastern Question or of the Franco-Prussian War. But a very great deal has recently been made public, notably in the historical work of French statesmen; and the editors with most remarkable skill have succeeded in giving us a history of the period 1865-71 which is of extraordinary interest and of very high authority. Perhaps, next to the volume on *The United States*, this is the most important contribution to general knowledge that the Cambridge historians have given us. In it eminent Continental scholars have taken a very considerable part, and among them we would specially commend the work of Professor Émile Bourgeois of Paris and the late Professor Masi of Florence, while Professor Fitzmaurice-Kelly of Liverpool shews the mastery of Spanish history in which since the death of Mr. Butler Clarke he is unrivalled among English scholars. We have also much the best English study of the Franco-German War that we have yet read, from the hand of Major Maurice of the General Staff. Never has the purely military history of the greatest war of the later nineteenth century been so lucidly or so authoritatively explained to English readers.

A special feature of interest in the volume is the attention paid to affairs outside Europe. Sir William Lee-Warner writes a chapter of vivid effectiveness on India, 1815-69, and there are studies by highly competent writers on Canada, South Africa, and Australasia, while Sir Ernest Satow deals, as no other man

could with such a combination of knowledge, clearness, and brilliancy, with China and Japan. But even in this most excellent volume there are one or two chapters which fall very far short of success. The work of the late Sir Spencer Walpole needs much more revision than the editors have given it. The chapter on English Literature, 1840-70, is still more unsatisfactory. No doubt it was impossible in sixteen pages to give more than the most jejune and uninspiring survey; but that is not a complete excuse for the irritating eclecticism with which historical writing is treated in the sketch. To discuss Macaulay at some length was natural, but to find space for Froude while only mentioning the name of Stubbs without comment, and not mentioning the name of Freeman at all, is inexcusable. Nor does the writer understand the drama any better than (as his curious sneer at 'the modern theory' shews) he understands history. A writer who considers that *Not so Bad as we Seem* is 'melodramatic and sentimental'—a phrase which he attaches to all the plays of the first Lord Lytton—puts himself out of court. But the chief errors are in connexion with Tractarianism. When we observe with what fulness literary movements such as that of the age of Donne or the work of the English Latitudinarians have been treated in the *Cambridge History*, we cannot but express our surprise that the Oxford Movement which, as no serious historian can deny, transformed the English Church and marked an important epoch in English Letters, should be disposed of in a fashion so summary and so ignorant. Keble, one need not be surprised to find, is accused of 'femininity of spirit,' and we are told that this 'is not the stuff of which leaders are made.' To Pusey also is denied the gift of leadership. How then can an historian account for the work of the Movement or its quite obvious and far-stretching results? He cannot account for them at all, and so he simply ignores them. Even on the literary side he is woefully deficient. He can only tell us that Hurrell Froude was richly gifted and died young, and of the generation of Richard Church, which was in some ways the most active and efficient expression of Tractarianism, he says nothing. The failure is quite comprehensible in a writer who writes: 'Life, says Carlyle, is a progress from mystery to mystery. The Tractarians agreed, but they taught that there was a body *clothed with authority to dictate absolutely* as to the mysteries.' It is hardly possible to believe that the scholar who wrote this can have read the works of the Tractarians at all. But it is indeed surprising that three competent editors should have allowed a statement

so grotesque—and it is not alone—to stand. The fact is that the treatment of ecclesiastical history in the volumes of the *Cambridge Modern History* which have been recently issued is often extremely unsatisfactory. In nothing is the guiding hand of Lord Acton, with his great knowledge and his consciousness of what is meant by impartiality, more sadly to be missed.

The Age of Revolution. Being an Outline of the History of the Church from 1648 to 1815. By W. H. HUTTON, B.D. (Rivingtons. 1908.) 4*s.* 6*d.* net.

MR. HUTTON is to be congratulated on having produced a very readable and pleasant little book, which in an easy style conveys much varied and interesting information probably unknown to many professed students of Church history, who have generally concentrated their attention on more stirring periods than that which forms the subject of the present volume. There is one criticism which readily offers itself, and which Mr. Hutton has doubtless anticipated. The title-page raises an expectation of something different from the volume before us. Except in two chapters which deal with the French Revolution and with Napoleon, the age that Mr. Hutton describes is for the Church anything rather than an 'age of revolution,' and even in those two chapters we read of revolution attempted rather than achieved. Mr. Hutton limits his subject to 'those religious bodies which believe episcopacy to be of the *esse* of the Church, and which claim to have, and appear to' the author 'to have, preserved the succession of bishops according to the ancient rule.' His wide survey includes Thomasite Christians in India and the dissenting sects in Russia, but is silent upon the Moravian and Swedish Churches, and for some reason almost completely silent on the Irish Church. It is impossible not to feel that the historical perspective suffers from the rigid exclusion of non-episcopal and pseudo-episcopal bodies. In so far as such bodies were influenced by the movements described in the volume or exerted an influence of their own on the Churches whose history is recorded, we understand those Churches the worse through seeing nothing of their neighbours. It is, for instance, impossible to realize the unity of Church and State in England in the eighteenth century without some knowledge of the disabilities imposed upon dissenters, but of such disabilities we learn nothing from Mr. Hutton beyond a reference to 'severe and even persecuting legislation,' followed by 'toleration.' But perhaps Mr. Hutton would reply that he sought to present to the mind's eye of his reader the religious

life of those bodies that command his sympathy, and that he was too tolerant to deal with those with which he could not sympathize.

Tolerance, indeed, is characteristic of the volume. The Evangelical movement and the person of John Wesley command the author's appreciation, though his sympathies are of course with the party that laid stress on episcopal organization. Bishop Hoadly moves his choler, and Calvinism is seldom mentioned except as a dangerous enemy to the faith of Christ. Mr. Hutton is seldom philosophical, but indulges in a long philosophical footnote (p. 111) in defence of Butler, which ends with the words, 'Critics of this school, whether they wrote in the eighteenth or the twentieth century, find their strongest argument in the ignorance which enables them to identify Christianity with Calvinism. When this is done it is possible to declare that the theology of Kant, which bases moral effort on ideal which originates in God, is "preposterous."' It is difficult to see what there is in Calvinism or in any other form of religion to militate against the theology of Kant as thus expressed. Again, while the inclusion of the Encyclopaedists is doubtless justified by the fact that they belonged to a Catholic country, Kant and Fichte seem a little out of place among the South German Catholics.

The Roman Church naturally occupies the larger part of the volume, and Mr. Hutton takes a special interest in the Society of Jesus and in the question of Gallican rights. His sympathy is very clearly opposed to the Ultramontane party. One interesting feature of the book is that the author, contrary to the practice of most recent historians, draws practical lessons from time to time. Here and there a certain looseness of grammatical construction may be observed, and a waywardness of expression or even of spelling. But Mr. Hutton's individuality is too interesting for a reader to resent its appearance in his books.

Wells and Glastonbury. By T. Scott Holmes, M.A., Canon and Chancellor of Wells. (London: Methuen and Co. 1908.) 4*s.* 6*d.* net.

The professional writer of guide-books is apt to consider what it is that his readers would like to know concerning the places he describes, and he is too businesslike to feel or to inspire enthusiasm. Canon Holmes, whose heart as well as his home is at Wells, is eager to tell us facts which are interesting to himself. And since he is a skilled observer, broad as well as accurate in his studies, he is able to give a full and clear account of the two

great ecclesiastical foundations of Wells and Glastonbury, and of the little towns which have gathered around them. There is only one topic, though it is of singular importance, on which we wish that he had dwelt more fully—the strange and unparalleled constitutional changes in the cathedral body which followed the Reformation and were not completed till the death of the last canon on the old foundation of Wells in 1879. Elsewhere the limits of space have only inspired Canon Holmes to make the best use of his opportunities, and he has produced what will be for the citizens of Wells a text-book of their history and rights as well as for their visitors the best of guides to the antiquities of the city. Among those antiquities they will make acquaintance not only with a famous cathedral and its beautiful accessories, but with humbler sites and foundations around which memories cling. Canon Holmes has delightfully connected the annals of the town with its guildhall, its market cross, its almshouses, and its churches; and if his task has been simplified by the uneventful history of a city which has had few manufactures and little commerce, he has shewn that a subject small in scale can become significant in capable hands. In regard to Glastonbury his opportunity has been less. The abbey is a ruin and the town little more than a village, but he has made the best of a story which is often defective. We notice that he is cautious in regard to the primitive history of Glastonbury. The confidence with which Professor Freeman spoke of the Celtic stage in its history is, in fact, no longer possible, and it may well be that before long Glastonbury will be satisfied with King Ina for its founder, as St. Albans is content with Offa. It would be unjust to close without praise of the graceful sketches of Mr. E. H. New, with which the book is adorned.

Fonts and Font Covers. By Francis Bond. Illustrated by 426 Photographs and Measured Drawings. (Oxford: at the University Press. 1908.) 12*s.* net.

This volume is a worthy successor to Mr. Bond's great work on 'Gothic Architecture'[1] and to his book on 'Screens and Galleries.' It is, in fact, the first book that has dealt with the subject as a whole since the issue of Simpson's and of Comte's books more than sixty years ago, the scope of which was very limited in comparison with that of this volume, while Font Covers have hitherto passed almost unnoticed. Mr. Bond has employed the historical method, shewing how it was that Holy Baptism

[1] See the Article, *C.Q.R.* Jan. 1907.

held such prominence in Early Christian days, requiring great detached baptisteries, which at first had sunk tanks like Roman baths, later followed by tanks of similar dimensions and form, raised above the floor level. These gave way to tub-shaped fonts, resting on the floor at first, but afterwards on four or five legs (more or less), and then on a single pedestal. Then, after the sixteenth century, came pseudo-Gothic fonts or chalice-shaped ones of classical design, and in the earlier half of the nineteenth century it was often thought enough to have a Wedgwood bowl, or even a slop-basin or a punch-bowl, placed within the font proper, or on the altar, or even on the vestry table. All this is traced in Part I. In Part II. fonts are classified according to their form, the main division being into unmounted fonts and fonts mounted on legs. In each of these classes are many sub-divisions. Symbolism is briefly referred to in connexion with some supposed meanings of various forms. Then there are fonts with accessories, chiefly the side basin to catch and drain off the water after affusion became common; this is usual in some parts of Europe (hence the French term *fonts baptismaux*), but comparatively rare in England. There are fonts of unusual materials, even wood and brick, as well as the better-known fonts of lead and of other metals. The position of fonts, their reconstruction out of other things, and inscriptions placed on them, are all dealt with in turn. In Part III.—wrongly headlined 'Part II.,' p. 119, while Part II. has no headline—fonts are described according to their date, from pre-Conquest to the portable font of the nineteenth century, 'the last legitimate representative, however unworthy,' says the author, 'of an ancient family whose pedigree stretches on in unbroken descent from the bathrooms of Imperial Rome and the Early Christian baptisteries.' We should question the 'legitimacy' of the pewter or porcelain basin; but let that pass. Then follows a chapter on desecration and destruction, a melancholy record indeed; and lastly, as Part IV., a chapter on Font Covers, in which some very beautiful and interesting examples are figured and described. These are mostly of the canopy type, but some are on the plan of a high polygonal cupboard with a side door. The volume concludes with a complete Index Locorum and Index Rerum.

From what has been said it will be seen how very complete is the treatment of the subject, and Mr. Bond's name is a sufficient guarantee of the ability and accuracy displayed throughout. Upwards of one thousand places are mentioned

in the Index, and the volume contains 426 illustrations. These are mostly reproductions of excellent photographs taken by the author and his friends, which, though not affording the same sort of artistic enjoyment that we derived from the beautiful steel engravings and woodcuts of fifty years ago, a form of illustration now entirely superseded, yet have the advantages of scientific accuracy and of perfect freedom from anything due to the imagination of the artist Moreover, the comparatively trifling cost renders possible that profusion of pictorial illustration which we have in Mr. Bond's books, the price of which under the old methods would have been quite prohibitive. It is most delightful not only to indulge in a serious perusal of this volume, but to turn over its pages again and again, always sure to find within half a minute some beautiful illustration or some illuminating remark. It ought certainly to find a place in the studies of many of our readers.

Towers and Spires; their Design and Arrangement. By E. Tyrrell Green, M.A., Professor of Hebrew and Theology and Lecturer on Architecture at St. David's College, Lampeter. With 129 Illustrations by the Author and two Maps. (London: Gardner, Darton and Co. 1908.)

Professor Green confines his attention to ecclesiastical work pure and simple. For this he partly prepares the reader by his title *Towers and Spires*. He does indeed mention a dozen or so of secular towers, but his reference to them is as casual and slight as the number is insignificant. Yet secular towers are a very large and a very important group, and were formerly larger and more important still. They would indeed well repay study from both the historical and artistic points of view. Not to mention Norman keeps, which are strictly towers, there are in military architecture the cluster which crowns the town of Conway, and that magnificently stern array which frowns over Carnarvon, the interesting examples of towered gateways at Southampton and York, and those half palatial, half military towers of the old houses of the bishops. Then there are those built by the monasteries for pomp and power, such as the group at Norwich. Associated with these again are the gateway towers of the larger mediaeval houses and colleges, intended partly as very real defences but partly for sheer architectural effect. All these have in their day served their practical purposes, and now remain the delight and the despair of succeeding generations.

Among the few secular towers mentioned by Professor Green is the well-known monstrosity at Bruges. This is one of the most familiar examples of an important group—to wit, the municipal towers of the Continent—entirely absent from our own country. The English mediaeval municipality was in its external pomp—at least so far as architecture is concerned—of a much humbler order than the Continental Town Council. There are not a few points of difference between our Town Hall and the Hotel de Ville of other countries, and one of the most obvious is the absence of a tower in the English examples. The famous tower of the Palazzo Vecchio of Florence, so interesting both in design and in construction, and the sister tower, so like and so unlike, at Siena, are typical Italian towers, though more excellent than most others of their class.

We cannot blame Mr. Green for not doing more than he set out to do, but we think that church towers cannot be separated off from others and considered apart by themselves, any more than they can be discussed without reference to the whole church. Architecture cannot be digested in sections. Towers are but one section of the whole body of a country's architecture, and they form an integral part of the church.

Saxon architecture has lately received a good deal of attention, and it cannot now be treated as if it were all of one period and of one school. The whole church plan of the north differed from that of the south ; the whole manner of building was changed by the devastations of the Danes. The Norman Conquest cast everything into another mould, and for a time it melted even our insularity. Of the radical changes which it wrought in our architecture one of the most notable was the introduction of a central tower. The return to the western tower accompanied the return from the Norman apse to the English square east end, and was the more momentous change of the two. National temperament and national history required the removal of the tower to the west end of the church. The national love of a ring of bells influenced its design as well as its position.

Local conditions soon began to give birth to local style. Not only did character and quality of stone directly influence construction, but many other circumstances acted indirectly on style. Trade brought foreign fashion to one district, monastic influence was powerful in another. The woodwork of one age is seen acting upon the stone design of later times. Wealth and ambition as well as piety have to be taken into account.

Mr. Green views the subject purely from the artistic, we

might almost say from the picturesque, point of view. Unfortunately many interesting considerations are thus passed over, and his artistic criticisms themselves would gain in weight and value were they less detached from history and construction, and, we may add, were they not overlaid by an excessive number of references to examples.

Having lodged these complaints, we turn with pleasure to give the praise which Mr. Green's book deserves. His judgement in matters of taste is always sane, he holds sound views as to the atrocities perpetrated under the name of 'restoration,' and he writes in a simple, unaffected style. His illustrations deserve a word in passing. They are all reproduced from his own pen-and-ink drawings, and, if for nothing else, we should be grateful for this in these days of half-tone blocks reproduced from third-rate photographs and printed on shiny paper. But his drawings are interesting in themselves. They have indeed some amateurisms and the perspective is not seldom faulty; but they have delicate feeling and are full of careful work.

The Santuario of the Madonna di Vico, Panteon of Charles Emanuel I. of Savoy. By L. Melano Rossi. (London: Macmillan and Co. 1907.) 21s. net.

Vicoforte is near Mondovi, in South Piedmont. In the year 1539 the district suffered severely from a wet spring, until a vision was vouchsafed to a young girl, in which she was directed to erect a *pilone* with a picture of the Virgin and Child. When this had been done the weather cleared up. This little pillar-shrine became towards the end of the century the nucleus of a notable dome-church which Charles Emanuel I., Duke of Savoy, intended to make the mausoleum of his family. It is this building which forms the subject of the excellent and sumptuous monograph before us.

The book is the work of an enthusiast. It contains over 250 pages; it is well printed on good paper, illustrated with plans and sections, and with reproductions of photographs; there is a map of South Piedmont, a genealogical tree and a chronological table of the House of Savoy, a list of books referred to, and an index. History, architecture, painting, and sculpture are all dealt with fully, or rather to overflowing. The book would indeed have been much better if it had been half the length. It is not that there is too much of its author, but there is a good deal too much of other people. The text is broken up with innumerable quotations from modern writers of various degrees

of authority in support of statements which require no support at all, and the pages are encumbered with footnotes of the same kind. Yet while the author has plenty of ideas which are always readable and often interesting, the 'conclusion,' quite a short chapter, has references to twenty different names.

The illustrations need a special word of praise. There is a good coloured drawing of the picture of the Madonna which gives the name to the building and to the book, and there are some photogravures from the author's own negatives. These are generally excellent and are always effective even when the values are wrong; and wrong values are condoned and often seem to be accepted as inevitable in photographs which have no effectiveness or any other quality to redeem them. Some of the pictures seem to us to be little short of perfection.

IV.—Missions.

An Apostle of the North. Memoirs of the Rt. Rev. W. C. Bompas, D.D., First Bishop of Athabasca, 1874–1884, First Bishop of Mackenzie River, 1884–1891, First Bishop of Selkirk (Yukon), 1891–1906. By H. A. Cody, Rector of Christ Church, Whitehorse, Y.T., Canada. (London: Seeley and Co. 1908.) *7s. 6d.* net.

It is bestowing no mean praise upon this work to say that it is a thoroughly satisfactory record of missionary labour. It is a lofty title—An Apostle of the North—which Mr. Cody arrogates for his hero, but the life of Bishop Bompas fully justifies the claim. His call to the mission field came with singular appropriateness, when Bishop Anderson of Rupert's Land was preaching the Anniversary Sermon of the C.M.S. in 1865. The Bishop had travelled far to perform this duty, and he told of a lonely station on the mighty Yukon river where a solitary clergyman was struggling on against failing health. 'Shall no one come forward,' cried the preacher, 'to take up the standard of the Lord as it falls from his hands?' The service ended, Mr. Bompas, then a young Lincolnshire curate, walked into the vestry and offered to go. Three weeks later, taking nothing with him that might lead his thoughts to home, all his books and personal tokens distributed to friends, the volunteer, just ordained to the priesthood, started for the far, lone land.

The equipment of the new recruit was well suited—must we not believe it was providentially designed—for his arduous task? Born of a good family, the sudden death of his father, an eminent

barrister and leader of the Western Circuit, had left the family in poor circumstances, and the discipline of strict economy and disappointed hopes was early experienced. At school he was distinguished not only for his attainments in classics and mathematics but for early mental development; and when a University career was unattainable, and he was articled to a solicitor, he added to his acquaintance with Latin and Greek a good knowledge of Hebrew. It was therefore fitting that he should be accepted as a 'literate,' in the legitimate sense of that much-abused word, and ordained by Dr. Jackson, then Bishop of Lincoln. Six years of hard work in unpromising fields of labour, where his loving nature won the hearts of a rough and primitive population, afforded the spiritual and physical training for the work that was in store for him. In the flower of his age (he was in his thirty-second year) and of fine, strong physique, Bompas faced the hardship of his undertaking with quiet self-possession. When told that his station was 8000 miles distant, and that he was hardly likely to reach it that year, he replied with a smile, 'I see; I must start with a small bag.'

Mr. Bompas' powers of devotion, determination and endurance were thoroughly tested from the very outset. Reaching New York on July 12, after a stay of two days he hurried northwards and caught the flotilla of the Hudson Bay Company at Red River Settlement, but on arriving at Portage la Loche it was too late to meet any boat going further north; so, engaging a canoe and two French half-breeds, he pushed on. The struggle of the next eight days to Fort Chipewyan might have daunted the boldest traveller, and it was in spite of urgent remonstrances that the missionary started again. We must be allowed a condensed quotation to describe the perils of the way:

'For several days the trim canoe cut the water, driven by determined arms. Then winter swept down in all its fury. The river became full of floating ice, jamming, tearing, and impeding their canoe. Axes were brought to bear. . . . The ice chips flew. The spray dashed and drenched them, and then cased their bodies with an icy armour. Colder and colder it grew, and the river became a solid mass from bank to bank. The canoe was dragged ashore and placed *en cache* with their baggage. All around was the pitiless wilderness and they had very little food. . . . Without delay they pushed forward through the forest. On and on they travelled by a circuitous route, through brushwood and thickets, with clothes torn, hands and faces bleeding, and uncertain where they were. Night shut down and enclosed them in its gloomy mantle. All the next day they struggled forward without food, and again night overtook them. Still they staggered on, and just when wearied to the

point of exhaustion the lights of Fort Resolution, on Great Slave Lake, gleamed their welcome through the darkness.' (Pp. 37, 38.)

A halt at this point until the lake was frozen hard enough to cross with dogs and snow-shoes was indispensable. But eventually the earnest desire of Bompas was accomplished by his arrival at Fort Simpson early on Christmas morning, in time to partake of the Holy Communion with Mr. Kirkby, whom he had travelled so far to relieve.

Qualis ab incepto—a short notice does not admit of details—it must suffice to say that the next eight years were spent in unwearied labours ; in incessant travel, always difficult and often dangerous ; in ungrudging exertion to promote the spiritual welfare and to alleviate the terrible degradation of the Indians and the Esquimaux ; and in unsparing self-denial in order to win for Christ the souls scattered sparsely over the enormous area, in both length and breadth equal to the distance from London to Constantinople, committed to his charge. In his own accounts of it Mr. Bompas makes light of what he endured. The coarsest food, the most painful bodily suffering, were cheerfully borne. In the face of seemingly inevitable starvation his trust in God's providence never failed, and it was never disappointed. He experienced all the joy of perfect self-sacrifice. His self-renunciation was complete.

In 1874 the new diocese of Athabasca was formed, and Mr. Bompas was summoned to England to be consecrated as its first bishop. It was in vain that he protested against the promotion thus thrust upon him. He did not tarry long away from his charge. Reaching England on February 13, he was consecrated at Lambeth on May 3, married four days later to a lady of much culture and refinement, Miss Charlotte Cox, and on the 12th of the same month he left with his bride the shores of his native land, never to return. For more than thirty years henceforward, in small things as in great, self-sacrifice was to be the note of the Bishop's life. His enormous diocese, a million square miles in extent, was subdivided in 1884, and he at once selected the northern and more inaccessible portion. When in 1891 a further subdivision was carried out, he left the diocese of Mackenzie River to take charge of the less desirable and more remote see of Yukon. The picture presented us of this nineteenth-century prelate is a most fascinating one, rivalling in its simplicity and self-forgetfulness the most saintly and heroic lives in the Church's annals—always selecting the hardest place, always carrying the heaviest burden, at one time holding

a synod in the wilderness, at another carefully teaching a small school of Indians or Esquimaux, at another mastering the difficulties of Syriac and drawing helpful thoughts from comparing it with the Hebrew. During his interminable journeys on foot, through storm and tempest, he gained new and wonderful lessons on Holy Scripture, which he embodied in his *Northern Lights on the Bible*. And this ripe scholar and Christian gentleman put his own hat on the head of an Indian boatman, who having lost his covering was suffering from the heat, and himself went bareheaded; wrapped a shivering native in the blanket from his own bed, when the thermometer was below zero; and until the last two years of his life himself hauled the water from the lake for the whole household. Forty years of such unremitting toil had undermined even his stalwart frame, and it was with intense pleasure that Bishop Bompas welcomed the arrival of his successor, Bishop Stringer. He had declined the offer of a pension and was planning fresh mission work when the call to rest came to him. After a busy day he had retired to work at his sermon, and had risen to tend an Indian girl in the room who needed some attention, when God touched him and without a struggle he died.

Any attempt at a personal appreciation of so devoted a servant of God within the limits of a short notice must be sadly inadequate. We strongly recommend Mr. Cody's well-written narrative, which gives a vivid picture of the country which was the scene of the Bishop's labours, of the characteristics of its native inhabitants, as well as some striking extracts from *Northern Lights on the Bible*, to which we have referred. The book does not contain a single dull paragraph. It has been truly said, 'The world knows little of its greatest men.' Thousands of well-educated English-speaking people will probably never hear of the name of Bishop Bompas. We envy the place it will hold in the book of the Lord's remembrance. Whilst the Church rightly sends of its best to occupy its outposts it has sore need for many more such soldiers of the Cross at home.

(1) *The Awakening of China.* By W. A. P. Martin, LL.D., formerly President of the Chinese Imperial University. (London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1907.) 16*s.* net.

(2) *China in Legend and Story.* By C. Campbell Brown. (Edinburgh and London: Blackwood. 1907.)

Dr. Martin has made China his home for nearly fifty years. His opinions, therefore, on Chinese matters are worthy of all

attention. His experiences enable him to judge of the varied sides of the Chinese character, and in his *Awakening of China* he has given us his views on those subjects. He lays the foundation of his work in some detailed chapters on the geography and history of the Empire. Of these portions of his work there is no need to make any remarks, since they are mere repetitions of records which are well known; and it is only when he comes to 'China in Transformation' that we meet with anything that is new.

After briefly sketching the opening of China, he takes up the real burden of his discourse, which is the progress of recent reforms in the Empire; and wonderful indeed is the story which he has to tell. In tracing the course of reform, Dr. Martin starts from the fountain heads—the late Dowager Empress and the Emperor. He gives in outline a list of the progressive measures which roused the reactionary party and virtually reseated the Dowager Empress on the throne (1898). A reversal of the policy foreshadowed by the Emperor's decrees followed immediately on this *coup d'état*; and the reformers who had gained possession of the Imperial ear were either executed on the spot or hunted out of the Empire. But a certain amount of substantial progress had been made; and as time went on, the Dowager Empress found that the Liberal party had so far gained ground that it would be unsafe for her to offer an unyielding front to it. She therefore temporized with the movement, and adopted measures which appeared to justify Dr. Martin's eulogium on her progressive tendencies. It is true that by the edicts she issued progressive measures which well-nigh surpassed those issued by the Emperor in 1898 had all the appearance of the result of firm conviction. But a more careful study of her career shews that she was a pure opportunist, and while ostensibly giving her support to the movement, she was quite prepared at a moment's notice to pronounce sentence of death on the reformers. But *de mortuis nil nisi bonum*, and it cannot be denied that during her last years she threw in her lot with the advanced guard.

Dr. Martin's work is adorned with excellent photographs, notably one of Bishop Favier, who has rendered himself famous by his gallant defence of the Northern Cathedral during the Boxer riots.

Mr. Campbell Brown's work on *China in Legend and Story* is an interesting work on the national superstitions and missionary work in the Middle Kingdom. It is customary for those who deride missionary work to stigmatize all Chinese Christian

converts as 'Rice Christians.' The present work points to a very different conclusion, while the religious zeal and fervour which actuated the native martyrs during the Boxer outbreak should be sufficient to convince the most hardened anti-missionary advocate of the erroneousness of his adopted views. Mr. Campbell Brown's work furnishes additional evidence in the same direction, and, though slight, we hail it as a testimony to the truth.

Young China. By ARCHDEACON MOULE. (London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1908.) 2*s*.

WE do not know much about Chinese men in their homes, still less about Chinese women, and least of all about Chinese children. But our means of knowing these little folk are gradually increasing. Mrs. Bryson was one of the first to tell us about them in her charming little book, *Child Life in Chinese Homes*. Then Professor Headland gave us his delightful *Chinese Mother Goose Rhymes*, *Chinese Boy and Girl*, and *Our Little Chinese Cousin*, all profusely illustrated. To this small list Archdeacon Moule has now added *Young China*, in which he touches on many aspects of child life. He shews us children at home, at school, and at play, and these aspects are illustrated by some sixteen delightfully quaint pictures drawn by two Chinese artists, father and son. These pictures represent children playing at *Kite and Chickens*, *Battledore and Shuttlecock*, *Blindman's Buff*, and so forth. They also shew us a Chinese school, with the old spectacled dominie in his high-backed chair; one little urchin is 'backing his book' (repeating his lesson to the teacher); another is kneeling on the cold brick floor as a punishment for not saying his lesson well, and is crying vigorously.

The crowded cities and narrow streets of China seem ill places for children. Nor are there any parks or gardens or squares where the little ones can run and romp and play. To the stranger passing along the streets it looks as if in building these cities the children had been wholly forgotten. But things are not so bad as they appear. Chinese homes are built on the quadrangle plan. The central square or court is the children's playground. The temples too are built on the same plan, and at least the outer court is usually a sort of playground for men and boys. It generally happens also that there are plots of ground here and there in most cities which are held to be unlucky, and for that or some other reason are not built upon, and here too the boys can play. The children, therefore, are not so badly off as at first would seem. For older boys and young men,

however, there are few suitable sports or playgrounds. China has no football, no baseball, no rounders and no cricket; nor are there any walking, running or rowing matches. Sports are not encouraged, and all athletics are more or less frowned upon alike by parents and officials. They are held to be low, demoralizing and wasteful.

The Chinese dress, too, hardly admits of vigorous play. When a boy goes to school he is put into a long gown reaching to his heels, is furnished with a fan and a pair of thick-soled boots, and is solemnly exhorted to deport himself with the decorum and dignity becoming a gentleman and a scholar—and in this costume he has little option of doing otherwise.

School life also tends to repress exuberance of spirits and enforce a quiet demeanour. The hours are long and holidays few. School opens at sunrise and closes only with sunset. Through those weary hours, with only the briefest intervals for meals, the boys have to be at work repeating aloud their more or less unintelligible lessons from the Confucian Classics, writing those picturesque but difficult Chinese characters, or composing essays and poems after prescribed models. When closing time at last comes, even the breeziest boy has not much fun left in him.

It is noteworthy that only boys appear in these pictures; there are no girls. It is held to be wrong for any girl over ten to mingle in play even with the boys of her own family. Moreover, play has been rendered impossible for girls by the cruel custom of foot-binding. A woman's duties are inside the doors of her own home, and there too she must find her pastimes. The *Girls' Primer* says, 'Girls' feet are bound layer upon layer to keep them from gadding.' Happily, this cruel custom is beginning to die out under the influence of Christian teaching and Western example.

Happily, too, a great change has come over the school life of China. The Confucian Classics are no longer the sole text-books, nor are they taught in the old *memoriter* way. The new schools have playgrounds and gymnasia, in which the athletics and games of the West are practised, and old heads are no longer expected on young shoulders. Another change is the establishment of girls' schools in most of the larger cities. Ten or twelve years ago, outside of Christian Missions, there was not a girls' school in all China; now there are many.

One of the pictures in this little book depicts a grandfather and grandmother receiving the homage of their sons and grandsons. Chinese law and social custom both demand great respect

from the younger towards the elder members of the family, and especially towards parents. The parents' will is law, not only to the child but to the grown-up son as well, and the rod of correction sometimes falls upon stalwart shoulders. The writer knew a big strong man of thirty, who, having offended his mother, had to kneel before her while she laid the rod on his back with all her might. When the castigation was over, he prostrated himself before her, and thanked her for her 'instructions.' Filial piety is almost a religion, as is plain from the proverb, 'Honour father and mother at home, and there will be no need to visit distant shrines to burn incense.'

Parents in turn are generally very kind to their children, lavishing much affection on them, nursing them tenderly in sickness, forbearing with their faults, and solicitous for their welfare always. Chinese law regards parental affection as sufficient guarantee for the protection of children, and leaves them entirely in their parents' hands. This power is no doubt sometimes abused, but on the whole it works well. Every married couple long for children, and great is the rejoicing over a first-born, especially if it be a boy. The parents of half-a-dozen stalwart lads are esteemed lucky, and carry their heads high. Thus public sentiment and self-interest back up parental love, and make it a very effective thing.

But if the reader wishes to know more about these things, he will receive much entertainment and instruction from Archdeacon Moule's book. He will also find a very pleasantly and wisely written preface by Mr. T. H. Barlow, the Literary Superintendent of the Bible Society.

North India. By the Rev. C. F. Andrews, M.A., of the Cambridge Brotherhood, Delhi. 'Handbooks of English Church Expansion.' (London: Mowbray and Co., Ltd. 1908.) 2*s.* net.

We would willingly, did space permit, give something more than a notice to this noble little book. For Mr. Andrews compels attention. He faces with admirable courage the most pressing questions of the day, as regards our Missions in India, and all that he says is striking, criticize it how one will. The historical and biographical chapters are interesting, sympathetic and for the most part just both to missionaries and to British officials. While appreciative of all good work, he never exaggerates results. And while acknowledging the shortcomings of Christians as regards the promotion of Missions, he avoids the sweeping

censures which less-instructed writers have levelled at Englishmen in the East. But his really important chapters are those on 'The Indian Point of View' and on 'The National Movement,' the latter presenting new problems as difficult as they are pressing. And first, of the Indian point of view. There is, he tells us, 'a vernacular of thought and habit and temper to be learnt, as well as a vernacular of language.' Truer words were never written. We shall have to point out now and then that Mr. Andrews has learnt to see things so much from the Indian point of view that he is a little less than fair to the needs and the inevitable weaknesses of Englishmen living in the country—as, for instance, in condemning the Establishment, which ministers to European Christians, to be swept away root and branch in the interests of missionary work. He sums up the Indian point of view by saying that every missionary is a Saheb, and that to Indians the Saheb is (1) a foreigner, (2) influential, (3) overbearing, (4) patronizing; all of which constitutes 'a position of extraordinary danger for one who is to represent the poverty and humility of Christ.' Again, the Indian conception of Religion is, he tells us, essentially an ascetic one; while for an Englishman to live in India a life which even savours of asceticism is difficult to the last degree. And this is absolutely true. An Englishman's necessaries of life—chairs and tables, for instance—are unheard of luxuries to Hindus; while the life of, say, a friar of the Chartreuse represents about the standard of comfort of a Hindu working man. A personal experience of Mr. Andrews sums up another feature of the case. A student, while reading the Beatitudes, remarked to him that 'the Englishman may inherit the earth, but he would never like to be called meek.' Now be this point of view true or false, be it worthy or unworthy, these things are as Mr. Andrews states them, and the question for the English missionary is, how he can meet and deal with them so as to get into touch with Indians. It is, as Mr. Andrews admits, in no way the fault of most missionaries that they have found it flatly impossible to live as Indians live. It is also a blessed fact that some who have made the attempt have found that, imperfect though it was, the self-denial involved brought them marvellously nearer to the people.[1]

[1] Here one reserve must be made. To adopt the Indian dress, as was tried by the Salvation Army, is altogether a mistake; colour forbids it at once. The dress which makes a dark body look clothed and even dignified leaves a white one worse han absurd—half naked and almost indecent.

But, as Mr. Andrews acknowledges, it is only a very few among even devoted missionaries to whom these attempts are possible, and from this small proportion all married men must be excluded. Single women devoted to Missions may deny themselves many of the comforts which ordinary English folk need, but to bear a family in India while attempting an ascetic life would be nothing short of suicidal. And the experience of the different Sisterhoods at work in the Indian Dioceses, has brought out the lamentable fact that even in the single life the physical collapses and failures are distressingly frequent and complete. Mr. Andrews, indeed, does not claim to have done more than state the difficulty. But it is something to have stated it courageously and in unexaggerated terms, though not without some one-sidedness.

The point where we must frankly think that he has failed to appreciate the situation refers to the Englishman being a Saheb, and to a certain aloofness from Indians which comes from this position. An English official whom he quotes, addressed him in the following manner: 'You may do incalculable mischief if you lower the dignity of an Englishman by allowing natives to treat you familiarly or to take liberties with you: they are the inferior race, and we hold India by the sword. Be kindly by all means, but be always on your guard, and do not give away English prestige.' Mr. Andrews comments as follows: 'We must as missionaries reverse the whole position . . . we must try to lose our superiority, and become the servants of all, if we are to follow Christ: we must come to India with the one wish in our hearts, to break down all barriers of race, and not build them up.' Very true, we must say, in a sense. Yet there was something to be said for the official, and there is much to be said against the words 'we must try to lose our superiority.' 'Become the servant of all' by all means—it is compatible with keeping the superiority. And after all, the missionary, say what we will, is a subject of the British Crown, in a country where British prestige is a condition of the very opportunity which our presence in India affords him. He has his duties to Government as well as to the people of India, and it cannot be right to ignore them. To give an instance in point:—It was once the privilege of the present writer to stop a furious quarrel between two English gentlemen on a railway platform in India. He merely stepped between them and said, Pray remember, gentlemen, that there are natives looking on. In an instant they recovered their self-command. Now an ideal of British prestige which can produce

an effect like this must entail a certain aloofness on the part of all Europeans from any of the peoples around them. Desirable or undesirable, it is a fact and a most necessary fact in all our relations with the country. Aloofness is not to be desired in a missionary's dealings with his people. But even he has to discourage liberties if he wishes to be true to his duties as a subject of the British Empire. It is a much less simple matter than Mr. Andrews allows, to lay down that one of his objects must be to break down the distinctions which are part of his country's assets for meeting her duty to India.

So far, of the Indian point of view. In dealing with the National Movement, Mr. Andrews sets himself to shew that, marred and disgraced though it is by unscrupulous and murderous sedition, it has its noble side. To begin with, it is only a portion of a movement affecting all Asia. The idea of European supremacy as almost a law of nature is passing from the mind of India because it is no longer a category of Asiatic thought as a whole. And next, it is finding expression not only in political aspirations but in philanthropic effort and in mystical religious thought. If it maintains these last two features, it is as certain as anything can be that it must last long and go far. Fanatics may be resisted, even crushed: men imbued with the 'enthusiasm of humanity' may fail of political effectiveness. But of both classes one thing is certain—they are not to be ignored, but to be reckoned with. And if the Indian National Movement continues to present itself to the people as an Avatar of Krishna; if its followers really devote themselves, as Mr. Andrews has known them to do, to noble philanthropic exertion, we neither ought, nor can we dare, to treat them as simply to be suppressed. And, again, he describes the Movement as being largely an intellectual awakening, in which students from the villages of the country take a sounder and sturdier part than those who belong to the cities. And both its moral and intellectual sides are expressing themselves in organized work especially in the opening of colleges. Here youths and girls are trained to grow up in the Arya Samaj, believing and practising Hinduism as it was in its palmy days, before its Theistic belief became poisoned by Pantheism and idolatry. This Samaj takes the opposite line from that adopted by Theosophists under the leadership of Mrs. Besant; the latter tried to spiritualize and allegorize the later developments of Hinduism, while the thought of the Arya Samaj sweeps these altogether away and goes back to the teaching of the Vedas. 'The problem before

the Church,' says Mr. Andrews, 'is to determine wisely and boldly her own attitude under the new conditions. Neutrality is impossible, and a policy of drift is not only unworthy but also futile.' The attitude suggested by the New Theology we had occasion to notice last year in dealing with Mr. Lucas' book, *The Empire of Christ.* Mr. Andrews, being a loyal Churchman, would not adopt for a moment the position of surrendering to the Movement the very features of Christianity for the sake of which it is worth while to promote it, as Mr. Lucas would do.

He is, we are bound to say, much less than just now and then to the attitude adopted by missionaries. He finds fault with them for looking on Hinduism as a degrading form of idolatry. Well, perhaps in the north of India, where Islam holds so prominent a place, the degrading features of Hinduism may keep themselves out of sight. Mr. Andrews may never have seen what is sculptured in shameless stone on temples farther south, nor been in contact with what goes on where a staff of professional *hetairai* form part of the regular establishment. But these things are facts all the same, and if they do not constitute Hinduism a system of degraded idolatry, it is hard to say what would do so.

On one point where the line which he urges is different from that which we have taken in dealing with Missions to Hindus, we must confess that he makes a good case—he tells us that in his experience education, and specially in colleges, is forming the most potent link between missionaries and the Nationalist Movement, and that 'no more fatal event could take place than that the Church should drift away . . . and form a little backwater of her own,' as he considers that she could not but do if she relaxed her educational efforts in even secular subjects. In general the attitude which he advocates is as reasonable as it is Christian.

He pleads that in dealing with the Movement the Christian Fathers of Alexandria, with their appreciation of the best Greek thought, should form the Church's model; that missionaries should think of their Master as 'the true light that lighteneth every man that cometh into the world.' To do this, without compromise of truth, and with sympathy for all who reach out for it, is doubtless the duty of the Church.

The Desire of India. By SURENDRA KUMAR DATTA. (London: C.M.S. 1908.) 2*s.* net.

MR. DATTA'S book has all that ought to recommend it. It is on one of the most interesting of subjects, the pressing need for

evangelization in India. It is full of valuable information, compressed into a very small space. It has a copious bibliography attached to every chapter. The maps are clear, the illustrations lively and well-chosen, although not one of them gets so much as a reference to connect it with the text. There is an adequate index; and it appears under the auspices of the C.M.S. Yet when all this has been said, there remains the fact, which we dare not deny if we are to be true to a reviewer's first duty of candour, that we have found it extraordinarily difficult to read. A condensed manual is a condensed manual, and nothing short of genius can make it inviting or inspiring. Nor does it seem fair that there should be superadded to all the difficulties of making such a book attractive the disadvantage of having to write in a language which is not one's own. Not that Mr. Datta is ever at fault to express himself. But the instinctive touch which appeals is wanting, and we have to force and plough our way through every page from beginning to end. However, the bibliography alone would make it a cheap two shillings' worth to any one beginning the study of Indian Missions—indeed to any student of them at any stage. And we can only hope that other people may find it commend itself more spontaneously than we have done.

Handbooks of English Church Expansion:

4. *Australia.* By the Rev. A. E. David.
5. *South Africa.* By the Right Rev. A. Hamilton Baynes, D.D. (Mowbray. 1908.) 2*s.* each net.

The fourth and fifth volumes of this useful series continue the good impression made by the first three. Both are full of information, given in a nutshell, of the growth of the English Church in the countries with which they deal; both are well written, always readable, and from time to time contain passages of absorbing interest. Such, *e.g.*, in *Australia* are the accounts of the early struggles of the Church among the transported convicts, and of its later struggles among the gold-seekers; in *South Africa* the narratives of Bishop Gray's earlier visitations, the thrilling account (quoted from Canon Mullins) of the 'national suicide' of the Kaffir tribes in 1856, and the entire history of the Colenso controversy in Natal, in its later as well as its earlier stages. But the central part of each book, the true kernel of the whole, is the story of the work begun in each diocese under its pioneer Bishop, and the growth of that work under his successors. Here it is that we find the details

which shew the Church's real life—its quiet, constant, untiring efforts to win souls for Christ. Here, too, we find it in its weakness as well as in its strength—in South Africa notably through its lateness in the field, in Australia through the rise of a too narrow 'diocesanism.' But all trials and all errors notwithstanding, the record is in the main one to cheer; and as we turn from the painful struggles of the past, to look upon the strong self-governing Colonial Churches of to-day, we are reminded once more of our Saviour's familiar promise, and await the future with ever-growing hope.

Stewart of Lovedale. The Life of James Stewart, D.D., M.D. By J. Wells, D.D. (Hodder and Stoughton. 1908.) 5*s.* net.

This is the biography of one who was in every sense of the word a strong man. James Stewart, born in 1831, was the son of a Scottish farmer, who at the time of the Disruption joined the Free Church of Scotland. The boy inherited the deeply religious temperament of both his parents, and at the age of fifteen, while working on his father's farm, received, by a sudden inspiration, his first call to missionary work. He studied for four years at the universities of Edinburgh and St. Andrews, and then for another four was a student of divinity at New College, Edinburgh. While thus engaged he read Livingstone's travels, and this seems to have first aroused his enthusiasm for work in Africa. Licensed as a 'probationer' in 1860, he attracted attention by the vigour of his preaching, and at this period he went through a full course of medical as well as of theological study. He first offered himself for missionary work in 1859, and in 1861 left Scotland with Mrs. Livingstone in order to join her husband on the Zambesi. After great difficulties and much opposition, he reached his destination, having sailed from Capetown in company with Bishop Mackenzie and the ill-fated pioneers of the Universities' Mission. He was cordially received by the great explorer, with whom he worked for some time in opening up the country, and from whose example and methods he learnt much. Returning to Scotland in 1863, he completed his studies, and in 1866, having then just married, he went out again to what was to be the great work of his life, the foundation of the now famous mission station of Lovedale, on the eastern boundary of Cape Colony, close to the Kaffir country. The object of this institution was 'to uplift the native by touching him at every point, instructing him in the arts of civilized life, and fitting him for all Christian duties.' For the remaining well-nigh forty

years of his life—he died in December 1905—the development and guidance of Lovedale occupied all his energies, and he only left the work for a time to assist in pioneering and planting other Scotch missions in Central Africa. His zealous championship of the natives, with whom he had a quite exceptional sympathy, aroused some hostility, but the success and value of his work seems to have been pretty universally acknowledged in the end. His latter years were saddened by troubles connected with the so-called Ethiopian movement among the natives, and the Free Church Crisis in Scotland, but his merits were recognized by his appointment as Moderator of the General Assembly in 1899. Several chapters of the book are devoted to a very full account of the various phases of the work at Lovedale, and the many sided activities of its truly wonderful founder. There are many good illustrations, but we miss one that would have been placed first in the account of any Anglican or Roman Catholic mission, of the church of the Community. The book is sympathetically written, though we must confess to finding the style sometimes rather tiresome; it is well got up and printed, and we can thoroughly recommend it to any who are interested in good work done in the mission field within or without our own communion, as well as to those who are studying the native problem from political or humanitarian points of view.

The Black Bishop, Samuel Adjai Crowther. By Jesse Page, F.R.G.S. With Preface by Eugene Stock, D.C.L. (Hodder and Stoughton. 1908.) *7s. 6d.* net.

It was well that the full story of Samuel Crowther's unique career should now be given to the world. Seventeen years have passed since his death, years full of events in the mission field, as they have been elsewhere; there was risk of his great work being partially forgotten, or worse still, actually depreciated. Mr. Page, at the request of his son, Archdeacon Crowther, has compiled a complete biography from the mass of papers and letters left behind by the Bishop as well as from the Niger correspondence of the C.M.S. The book is highly commended, on general grounds, by Dr. Eugene Stock in his brief preface; but specially for the reason that Mr. Page, by refusing the temptation to dwell unduly either on the Bishop's earlier or on his later years, has succeeded in concentrating our attention on the great central period of his life, when his best and grandest work was done; in exhibiting him as a true Christian patriot, the pioneer of a strong mission to his own countrymen, which without him could scarcely have been undertaken at all. It

was indeed the dispensation of Providence that at a time when in that deadly climate the need of Africans to preach to Africans had been so terribly shewn, there was a Samuel Crowther ready to step into the breach. No European could have been more earnest or more enlightened than he. Himself absolutely disinterested, he worked with the pioneers of honest trade, striving always that Christianity and civilization might advance, not merely side by side, but hand in hand, among his countrymen. It is pleasant to read the story of his brave and patient efforts, of the difficulties which by the grace of God he overcame, of the large measure of success granted him amidst many disappointments, of the willingness of his converts to endure persecution and even martyrdom rather than give up the Faith. One of the most interesting events in his ministry was the destruction of the deified lizards at Bonny, in 1867, by the hands of the very people who had worshipped them. Troubled as were his later years, Mr. Page shews that he was not, what a modern writer has called him, 'an Eli in administering discipline.' His own letters prove that tender-hearted though he was, notably to his own converts, he strove faithfully to deal with the faults of native agents when brought before him, and punished where he felt that punishment was needed. But the task had become too great for him, or, indeed, for any one man, and the present system of more than one native Bishop working under a single European head is no doubt an improvement. Mr. Page's final chapter—especially the section dealing with the growth of Islam in West Africa, a problem which has so largely arisen since Bishop Crowther's time—will well repay the reader's attention.

V.—General Literature.

Pastor Ovium; the Day-book of a Country Parson. By John Huntley Skrine. (Longmans. 1909.) 5*s.* net.

We have particular pleasure in reviewing this book. We too have been in Arcady, and the Day-book of a Country Parson should feel at home in the pages of the *Church Quarterly Review*, especially of a parson who is imbued with the piety of the classics and takes *divini gloria ruris* for his opening text. But Mr. Skrine sounds the depths of the Vergilian music, and his diary is the record of strenuous effort towards this high ideal—'Christ in the priest, reconciling the parish unto God.'

Bred to the country from childhood, he returned to it 'a country dweller, but not of rustic mind'; perhaps the better fitted by that difference to reverence the rustic mind. His meditations upon

the men and women of Elfton—the men especially—are subtly beautiful. Half-daunted by their shyness towards rites, which he doubts not are still destined for their fuller joy, he meanwhile contemplates them as they 'hear of their ark at Ephrata and find it in the wood.' He re-fashions the worn proverb into 'a house-going parson makes a heaven-going people,' yet so orders daily evensong that he never has to say it quite alone. He keeps himself akin with the half-intellectual mysticism of the labourers which can only express itself, and that hardly, through the homely things of daily life. He feels with them the thrill of the august simplicities that break through village use and let in the eternal; look, for instance, at the christening of Stobbs' child, or the picture of 'the greatness of Great Death'—'He that rides in that closed litter of elmwood was but a villager, and in his village not of great account. But to-day he is first in all this company. . . His is the greatness, the mystery, the wonder, the kinship with the Beyond. Yesterday he trudged with bent shoulders the dusty village street, laboured in the foul morass of the farmyard, ankle-deep. To-day God taketh up the simple out of the dust, and lifteth the poor out of the mire, that He may set him with the princes.'

Mr. Skrine's conversations with his parishioners are less remarkable than his thoughts about them. Perhaps they have suffered from that sense of honour which bade him 'deliberately and with pains disorder all the bounds of truth' in his published writing. If so, we rather thank him than complain. And against this disappointment we set the delightful sketches of his intercourse with brother clergy, Frances Desmond's vindication of village mothers and 'unchartered prophets,' and the record of that clerical meeting from which the incipient Day-book drew its first breath of real life.

From Montaigne to Molière, or the Preparation for the Classical Age of French Literature. By ARTHUR TILLEY. (London: John Murray. 1908.) 5*s.* net.

THE period covered by Mr. Tilley's book is approximately from 1605, the coming of Malherbe to Paris, to 1659, the production of *Les Précieuses Ridicules*. It bridges the interval between the fine flower of the French Renaissance, in the Pléiade and Montaigne, and the Augustan age of classical French literature, in Molière and Racine. It begins with Malherbe, the first critic who tried to lay down dogmatic canons of correctness, and ends on the eve of the appearance of Boileau, in whom those canons were finally embodied. It is, in consequence, essentially an age

of transition, and for that reason it suffers somewhat in interest. It contains two names of the first rank, Corneille and Pascal, and it witnessed the rise of two institutions, the one transitory, the other of lasting importance—the Hôtel de Rambouillet and the Académie de France ; but for most persons these names exhaust its interest. The minor writers who mark stages in the transition from the romantic to the classical taste have little intrinsic value in themselves, and interest the historians rather than the lovers of literature. Mr. Tilley himself has a wide acquaintance with the French literature of the period, and with all that has been written about it by modern critics ; and his record is lucid and sympathetic. His criticism is not very profound or stimulating, and his treatment of Corneille and Pascal is slighter than their importance deserves ; but it is good and sensible so far as it goes, and readers who are anxious to make acquaintance with the French literature of this period may trust themselves to his guidance with full confidence.

A History of English Prosody, from the Twelfth Century to the Present Day. By GEORGE SAINTSBURY. Vol. II. *From Shakespeare to Crabbe.* (London : Macmillan and Co. 1908.) 15*s.* net.

THE *History of Prosody* is, to our mind, the most satisfactory of all Professor Saintsbury's many contributions to literary criticism. It gives full scope to his encyclopaedic knowledge of English literature ; it is an ample subject, worthy of the hand of a master ; it is handled with judgement and sobriety ; and the irritating peculiarities of style, which mar the enjoyment of so much of Professor Saintsbury's work, are very much less conspicuous than usual. It is, no doubt, an additional satisfaction to a reviewer to find himself completely in accord with the main principles of the author reviewed. Professor Saintsbury is a staunch upholder of what may be called the classical theory of English prosody. He believes (and *quod credit, valde credit*) that the basis of English prosody, as of classical prosody, is the foot, and that the feet used are the familiar classical feet, the iambus, the trochee, the dactyl, the anapaest. Where English prosody differs from classical prosody is in its greater elasticity, due to the fact that the quantities of our syllables, for purposes of scansion, are not constant, and to the freer use of resolved feet, whereby a trisyllabic takes the place of a disyllabic foot. It is in the use of these facilities (which it would be libellous to call licences) and in the manipulation of the pauses that the music

of English prosody lies ; and they give it that ' infinite variety ' in which it is unsurpassed by any other language, ancient or modern.

Professor Saintsbury's second volume shews us English verse entering into its full inheritance. The first volume shewed how Chaucer gained for it its kingdom, and how, when changes in the language had well-nigh lost it again, Spenser regained it ; but its full possibilities had yet to be manifested. In the first stage (despite the charm and interest of the Elizabethan lyric) the centre of gravity is in the development of blank verse by the dramatists. This, within the compass of a single generation, grew from the somewhat mechanical and monotonous, though often majestic, succession of single lines, each ending with a pause, to the supremely elastic verse-paragraph of Shakespeare's greatest plays, in which the metre touches the highest possibilities of perfect adequacy as a poetic and dramatic medium, capable of any music and any emotion. But this achievement of perfect mobility could not remain in stable equilibrium. Shakespeare himself (as in *Timon of Athens*) carried its licence to an extent which would be pardoned in no lesser man ; and in Fletcher and his contemporaries it reached the verge of dissolution. But just when blank verse seemed to be on the point of ceasing to be verse at all came its great rehabilitation as a vehicle of narrative. Few people seem to realize the full originality of Milton as a prosodist. He was not merely the greatest artist in narrative blank verse that the language has known ; he was also, to all intents and purposes, its inventor. And although he might have learnt (and no doubt did learn) from Shakespeare that the metre was capable of rising to any height of poetry, yet his methods and results are so different that his originality remains unimpaired. In point of metrical achievement only one poet in all the world can fitly be ranked with him, and that is Vergil.

The study of Milton may be said to mark the climax of Professor Saintsbury's second volume ; but there is much of great interest to follow. There is a chapter on the lyrics and Pindarics of the Caroline poets, and another on the development of the heroic couplet ; and this leads to the consideration of Dryden, who rightly dominates the next book. In dramatic blank verse and in lyric Dryden is a master of no mean merit and achievement ; but his great contribution to English prosody is his fashioning of the couplet. Something had already been done by Waller, and it still remained for Pope to give it metallic polish

and point; but it was Dryden who developed its rhetorical power and vigorous effectiveness. Professor Saintsbury has recently been making a special study of the Caroline poets, and his mastery of his subject is nowhere more evident than here. In the final book, which deals with the eighteenth century, the interest necessarily sinks. There is nothing new to be said of Pope's management of the couplet; and for the rest the main interest is to see how the metrical possibilities of English poetry were kept alive by Gray, Collins, Goldsmith, Shenstone, and others, until the dawn of a brighter day.

Professor Saintsbury was originally sanguine enough to think that his work would be completed in two volumes. It is not surprising to find that he was mistaken, and that, after a second volume of six hundred pages, he still has ample material for a third. He still has to deal with the magical music of *Christabel* and *Kubla Khan*, with the quieter charm of Wordsworth's best verse, with the supreme miracles of Shelley, the richness of Keats' odes and the blank verse of *Hyperion*, the careful and delicate artistry of Tennyson (second only, in our language, to Milton as a conscious and deliberate artist in verse), and the new melodies of the great singer whom we have just lost, Algernon Charles Swinburne. We shall look forward with unabated zest to following Professor Saintsbury through this alluring subject, in which the student's task is lightened, on nearly every page, with snatches of the most musical and characteristic passages of English verse.

William Shakespeare, Player, Playmaker and Poet: a Reply to Mr. George Greenwood, M.P. By H. C. Beeching, D.Litt., Canon of Westminster. (London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1908.) 2*s.* net.

Shakspeare. By Walter Raleigh. (London: Macmillan and Co. 1909.) 4*s.* net.

Is it not a waste of time, ink and paper to undertake a refutation of the Baconian theory? If a man (or, still more, a woman) can believe that the author of the *Instauratio Magna* also wrote *King Lear*, he is either destitute of literary sense or possesses a mind of that class to which a theory is naturally acceptable in proportion to its improbability. In either case he (or, still more, she) is as impervious to argument as an Anglo-Israelite or a believer in the flatness of the earth. Mr. Greenwood, indeed, against whom Canon Beeching's refutation is directed, does not argue that Shakespeare was written by Bacon, but that Shake-

speare the poet (or rather the user of this *nom-de-plume*) was not Shakspere the player and citizen of Stratford. Mr. Greenwood is doubtless an excellent lawyer, but he has neither the knowledge nor the taste necessary to qualify him for a literary critic. A rudimentary acquaintance with Elizabethan handwritings might have saved him from some gross blunders as to Shakespeare's signatures; but it is to be feared that the main defects in his criticism could only be reformed, as Americans say, 'with a shot-gun.' However, if Canon Beeching, in his capacity of Preacher to Lincoln's Inn, regards it as his duty to minister to the legal mind diseased, it could not be done more neatly and effectively than it is in the first chapter of his little book. The two remaining chapters are a brief biography of Shakespeare, admirable both in matter and in form.

Professor Raleigh's delightful essay—for it is that, happily, and not a biography—was first published in the 'English Men of Letters' series in 1907. It has now been promoted to the 'Eversley' series, which means that those who like can have the same matter, printed with a more generous allowance of space and in a slightly better binding, for four shillings instead of two. Neither sum is excessive for the matter itself. Professor Raleigh is one of those writers about literature who have not only read their poets but felt and thought about them, and who are able and not afraid to put down what they have felt and thought. Consequently what he writes is sure to be profitable to a thoughtful reader.

The Works of John Ruskin. Edited by E. T. Cook and A. Wedderburn. Volumes XXXVI.–XXXVII. *Letters*, Vol. I. 1827–69. Vol. II. 1870–89. (London: G. Allen. New York: Longmans. 1909.) 25*s.* each net.

These two fine volumes represent the completion of a great undertaking—the monument erected to the genius of Ruskin by the enthusiasm and devotion of his admirers. It would be too much to say that the whole of the contents of the thirty-seven volumes of the 'complete edition' was worthy of preservation, but there are few who will not read the *Letters* before us with interest and even with keen enjoyment, though they extend to 1300 pages, with 100 more of Introduction. For Ruskin was a good letter-writer, not in the sense of being a stylist, but as writing readily about interesting things because they interested him and interested those to whom he wrote And his correspondents—Carlyle, the Brownings, D. G. Rossetti

Patmore, Professor C. E. Norton, Miss Kate Greenaway, Mrs. Arthur Severn, Mr. Faunthorpe, Sir Oliver Lodge, to name only a few—with varying degrees of intimacy, and probably very varying estimates of his aims, provided him with many opportunities for pleasant discursiveness and serious discussion; for many a side glance upon art and science and politics; for many a story and many a rash judgement. It would be as unfair to take Carlyle's description of Ruskin in 1855 as 'a bottle of beautiful *soda-water*' too seriously as it would be Ruskin's dictum to Froude, 'What can you say of Carlyle but that he was born in the clouds and struck by the lightning?'—two gems which we owe to Mr. Cook's Introduction; but no reader need fear to be confronted here only by tedious discussions of artistic and social problems; and yet at the same time no reader can fail to understand better the principles for which Ruskin deemed himself to be contending, nor (even if without complete agreement) to find both profit and pleasure in the reading.

Periodicals.

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Parry: 'Kissing the Book.' 'Kalischer *Beethoven's Letters.*' 'A. Dobson *De Libris.*' 'J. W. Barlow *The Immortals' Great Quest.*' 'Mott *The Future Leadership of the Church.*' 'W. Tuckwell *Pre-Tractarian Oxford.*' May. W. Robertson Nicoll: 'Swinburne.' H. S. Jevons: 'The Causes of Unemployment. I. Defects in Elementary Education.' C. T. H. Wright: 'English Poets from the French Point of View.' G. Tyrrell: 'The Dearth of Clergy.' A. Lang: 'Preanimistic Religion.' A. E. Keeton: 'Good Papa Haydn.' J. E. G. de Montmorency: 'Local Universities and National Education.' "Museus": 'The Function of Poets.' 'J. L. Morison *Reginald Peacock's "Book of Faith."*' 'P. A. Ellis *Old Beliefs and Modern Believers.*' 'R. Stephen *Democracy and Character.*' 'R. Bagwell *Ireland under the Stuarts.*' 'Mackail *The Springs of Helicon.*' 'Cutten *The Psychological Phenomena of Christianity.*' June. A. E. Garvie: 'The Personal Equation in Theology.' L. M. Phillipps: 'The Ethics of Greek Art.' J. M. Wilson: 'Public School Education in England and its Changes during the Last Fifty Years.' "Eulenspiegel": 'Shakespeare and the Modern German Stage.' A. A. W. Hubrecht: 'Darwinism and Wallaceism.' H. E. P. Platt: 'A Prophet *Malgré lui*' [Virgil and Eclogue IV]. 'Bigg *Origins of Christianity.*' 'Bateson *Mendel's Principles of Heredity.*' J. E. G. de M[ontmorency]: 'Feasey *In the Open Air.*' 'Cronin *General Ethics.*'

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Revue de l'Orient Chrétien (N.S. Vol. IV. No. 1. January 1909. Paris: 20 rue du Regard). F. Nau: (1) 'Littérature canonique syriaque inédite. Concile d'Antioche. Lettre d'Italie. Canons "des Saints Pères," de Philoxène, de Théodose, d'Anthime, d'Athanase, &c.' From MS. Paris. Syr. 62. Syriac text and translation. (2) 'Notes sur un fragment bohairique du martyre de S. Luc et sur la christologie de Timothée Aelure.' L. Leroy: 'Histoire d'Haikar le sage (texte des MSS. arabes 3637 et 3656 de Paris, avec la traduction française),' II. E. Blochet:

'Notes de géographie et d'histoire d'Extrême-Orient,' II. S. Grébaut: 'Note sur la poésie éthiopienne.' E. Tisserant: 'Nau *Histoire et sagesse d'Ahikar l'Assyrien*.' F. Nau: 'Engdahl *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der byzantinischen Liturgie*'; 'Bedjan *Mar Isaacus Ninivita. De perfectione religiosa*.'

Analecta Bollandiana (Tom. XXVIII. Fasc. ii. April 1909. Brussels). H. Delehaye: '*Sanctus*: (1) Le mot *sanctus* dans la langue païenne; (2) dans la langue chrétienne; (3) À qui revient le titre de saint.' A. Poncelet: 'Catalogus codd. hagiograph. lat. Bibliothecarum Romani praeter quam Vat. Appendix V. Inventio et miracula S. Secundin. martyris Atinensis. Index Sanctorum. Addenda et emendanda. Index bibliothecarum.' A. P[oncelet]: 'Hilgenreiner *Kirchliches Handlexicon*' (favourable); 'Chapman *Early History of the Vulgate Gospels*'; 'Gasquet and Bishop *Early History of the Bosworth Psalter*.' 'G. Antolin *Un codex regularum del Siglo IX. Opúsculos desconocidos de S. Jerónimo*' (from MS. Matrit. Escurial. a I.13). H. D[elehaye]: 'R. H. Charles *Greek Versions of the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs*'; 'Heisenberg *Grabeskirche u. Apostelkirche, zwei Basiliken Konstantins*'; 'Thiersch *Pharos Antike. Islam u. Occident*'; 'Rhallis *Poinikon Dikaion Ecclesiae Orthodoxae*' (ranges from homicide to smoking in public and cycling); 'P. F. de' Cavalieri *Hagiographica* and *Il Menologio di Basilio II*' (Cod. Vat. gr. 1613); 'Monceaux *Enquête sur l'épigraphie chrétienne d'Afrique*, IV.'; 'Radford *Theognostus, Pierius and Peter*'; 'Bethune-Baker *Nestorius and his Teaching*'; '*Chrysostomika*' (critical). [F.] V[an] O[rtroy]: 'Jacopone da Todi'; 'Ehrle *Martin de Alpartils Chronica actitatorum temporibus Domini Benedicti XIII*'; 'Coulon *B. Johannis Dominici Lucula Noctis*' 'Duver *Vie de S. Catherine de Bologne*'; 'Johannes de Capistrano'; 'Steichen *Les Daimyo chrétiens . . . du Japon* 1549–1650'; 'Laveille *Le Bienheureux L.-M. Grignion de Montfort*.'

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Revue des Questions Historiques (Vol. LXXXV. No. 170. April 1909. Paris: 5 rue Saint-Simon). P. Guiraud: 'La propriété individuelle à Rome.' J. M. Vidal: 'Doctrine et morale des derniers ministres albigeois,' I. L. Lallemand: 'Les maladies épidémiques en Europe du xvi^e^ au xix^e^ siècle,' III. E. Rodocanachi: 'Le Château Saint-Ange sous le pontificat d'Alexandre VI.' A. de Boislisle: 'La désertion du cardinal de Bouillon, en 1710,' III. G. Gautherot: 'Gobel, évêque métropolitain constitutionnel de Paris.' G. Tholin: 'La maison d'Armagnac au xv^e^ siècle et les dernières luttes de la féodalité dans le midi de la France.' A. Roussel: 'Lamennais d'après ses correspondants inconnus' (*suite*). M. Besnier: 'Jullian *Histoire de la Gaule*, I–II' (important). J. Lebreten: 'Hoennicke *Das Judenchristentum im ersten u. zweiten Jahrhundert*.' G. Péries: 'Trésal *Les origines du schisme anglican*' (1509–71); 'Kusej *Joseph II u. die aeussere Kirchenverfassung Inneroesterreichs*'; 'Granderath *Histoire du concile du Vatican*.' R. Lambelin: '*Cambridge Modern History*, V.'; '*Marshal Turenne*'; 'Sautai *Les préliminaires de la guerre de la succession d'Autriche*' ('magistrale'); 'Lang and Shield *The King over the Water*'; 'Corbett *England in the Seven Years' War*'; 'Low and Sanders *History of England*, 1837–1901.' Y. de la Brière: 'Bremond *La Provence mystique au XVII^e^ siècle*.' A. du Bourg: 'Dantin *François évêque de Tarbres*' (1782–1801). E. G. Ledos: 'M. Poète *L'enfance de Paris, jusqu'au temps de Philippe Auguste*.' J. Viard: 'Uzureau *Andegaviana*, IV.'; 'Lerosey *Loudun*.' J. M. Besse: 'Grenier *La cité de Limoges* (XII–XVIII^e^ siècles).'

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'Poschmann *Die Sichtbarkeit der Kirche nach der Lehre des hl. Cyprian.*' L. Lercher: 'J. Zahn *Einführung in die christliche Mystik.*' M. Flunk: 'Hoberg *Die Genesis.*' U. Holzmeister: 'Barth *Einleitung in das N.T.*' J. Stiglmayr: 'Pfättisch *Die Rede Konstantins an die Versammlung der Heiligen.*' A. Kröss: 'G. A. Weber *Die römischen Katakomben*'; 'G. Schmid *Das unterirdische Rom.*' E. Michael: 'Sind die Baumeister der romanischen Kunst in Deutschland "fast ausgenahmlos" Laien-gewesen?' J. Stiglmayr: 'Eine syrische Liturgie als Vorlage des Ps.-Areopagiten.' A. Keogh: '*The Catholic Encyclopaedia.*' 'Die Union der Altkatholiken mit der russischen Kirche.' 'Die Moral der Psychotherapie' (4 pp.)

Theologisch Tijdschrift (Vol. XLIII. No. 3. 1909. Leiden: S. C. van Doesburgh). B. D. Eerdmans: 'De Theologie van Dr. A. Kuyper.' H. T. Obbink: 'Het Exodus-Vraagstuk.' F. Dijkema: 'Eene Verdeeling der Psalmen.' B. D. Eerdmans: 'Over het Oude Testament.' 'Ginsburg *New Hebrew Text of Pentateuch* [B.F.B.S.].' 'Warneck *Die Religion der Batak.*'

Teologisk Tidsskrift (Vol. X. Nos. 3–4. 1909. Copenhagen: G. E. C. Gad). C. Glarbo: 'Den religionshistoriske Skole.' A. Holm: 'Sveriges Kyrka vid årsskiftet 1909.' F. Torm: 'Hoennicke *Das Judenchristen-thum.* 'Hoffmeyer *Kristendommens sejr i Apostlenes Dage.*' No. 4. J. P. Bang: 'Religionsidealet.' H. Wellejus: 'Schweitzer *Vom Reimarus zu Wrede*' (9 pp.) F. Torm: '*Theologische Studien Theodor Zahn zum* 10 *Oktober* 1908 *dargebracht*'; 'P. Ewald *Brief des Paulus an die Philipper.*' C. E. Flöystrup: 'Thomson *Robert Dolling.*' V. Lindegaard-Petersen: 'Faguet *L'Anticléricalisme.*'

The Church Missionary Review (Vol. LX. Nos. 720–22. April–June 1909. C.M.S.). Sir W. M. Young: 'The National Movement in India.' G. F. Smith: 'Denney *Jesus and the Gospel*'; 'Orr *The Resurrection of Jesus.*' Right Rev. W. L. Williams: 'New Zealand. A Retrospect,' I. (II. May). May. Right Rev. E. G. Ingham: 'Why should there be a "Pause"?' [in missionary progress]. H. U. Weitbrecht: 'The Gospels and Animism.' R. E. Howard: 'Contrasted Ideals. Sidelights on Female Education in S. India.' T. Bomford: 'Christian Servants in India.' G. F. Smith: 'P. L. Pennell *Among the Wild Tribes of the Afghan Frontier*'; 'M. E. H. Griffith *Behind the Veil in Persia and Turkish Arabia.*' W. H. T. Gairdner: 'The Moslem and Christian Views of God. An Imaginary Dialogue,' IV. G. T. M[anley]: 'J. Chamberlain *The Kingdom in India.*' 'J. Orr *The Atonement.*' June. H. E. Fox: 'Changing Conditions and Unchanging Principles.' 'The Message of theAnniversary.' A. E. Barnes-Lawrence: 'The Influence of Modern Religious Thought upon Missionary Societies and their Work.' J. W. Tims: 'Evangelizing the Canadian Indians.' J. R. Wolfe: 'Pressing Missionary Problems in Fuh-Kien.' G. F. S[mith]: 'Forsyth *Missions in State and Church.*' 'Findlay *Fellowship in the Life Eternal.*' 'R. B. Girdlestone *Old Testament Theology and Modern Ideas.*' 'S. Phillips *The Early English Colonies*' ['The annual legal salary of a clergyman was 16,000 lbs. of tobacco, worth £65.']

The East and the West (Vol. VII. No. 26. April 1909. S.P.G.). Right Rev. A. F. Winnington-Ingram (Bishop of London): 'An Efficient Ministry

for the Anglican Communion.' H. Fowler: 'Medical Missions in China.' Most Rev. St. C. Donaldson (Archbishop of Brisbane): 'The Religious Education Question in Queensland.' H. Gulliford: 'Christian Literature as a Mission Agency in India.' Right Rev. G. L. King (Bishop in Madagascar): 'The Preparation of a Native Ministry.' Right Rev. C. P. Scott (Bishop in N. China): 'The Future of Education in China.' D. Kidd: 'Kafir Socialism and Missions.' C. E. T. Biscoe: 'School Life in Kashmir.' W. S. Walsh: 'The Nestorian Mission in China.' '*The South African Natives.*' 'Pennell *Among the Wild Tribes of the Afghan Frontier.*' '*The Cambridge Modern History*, XI.' 'J. P. Jones *India, its Life and Thought.*' 'Guinness *Peru.*'

Books Received.

The more important will be reviewed in Short Notices or Articles as space permits.

Biblical and Kindred Studies.

Abbott, E. A.—*The Message of the Son of Man.* Pp. xxii + 166. (A. and C. Black.) 4*s.* 6*d.* net.

Brooke, A. E., and McLean, N.—*The Old Testament in Greek.* According to the Text of Codex Vaticanus, supplemented from other Uncial MSS., with a critical Apparatus containing the Variants of the chief ancient Authorities for the Text of the Septuagint. Vol. I. Part II. *Exodus and Leviticus.* Pp. viii + 155–406. (Cambridge University Press.) 12*s.* 6*d.* net.

Clarke, W. K. L.—*The Epistles of Paul the Apostle to the Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, and to Philemon.* Pp. viii + 98. (Cambridge University Press.) 1*s.* 6*d.* net. Revised Version with Notes.

Durand, A., S.J.—*L'Enfance de Jésus-Christ d'après les Évangiles canoniques, suivie d'une étude sur les Frères du Seigneur.* Pp. xlii + 290. (Paris: G. Beauchesne et Cie.) 2 *fr.* 50 *c.*

Greenup, A. W.—*The Yalkut of R. Machir Bar Abba Mari on Zechariah.* Edited for the first time, from the unique MS. (Harley, 5704) in the British Museum. Pp. 150. (London: St. John's Hall, Highbury). 4*s.* net.

Hart, J. H. A.—*Ecclesiasticus.* The Greek Text of Codex 248. Edited with a Textual Commentary and Prolegomena. Pp. xviii + 378. (Cambridge University Press.) 10*s.* net.

Hicks, C. M. E.—*St. Mark.* Edited for the Junior Branch of the London Diocesan Church Reading Union. Pp. 120. (S.P.C.K.) 1*s.*

Jugie, M.—*Histoire du Canon de l'Ancien Testament dans l'Église grecque et l'Église Russe.* Pp. iv + 140. (Paris: G. Beauchesne et Cie.) 1 *fr.* 50 *c.*

MacDermott, G. M.—*The Gospel according to St. Matthew.* 'Plain Commentaries.' Pp. 160. (Wells Gardner.) 6*d.*

Myers, J. M.—*The Story of the Jewish People.* Being a History of the Jewish People since Bible Times. With Maps and numerous Illustrations. In Two Volumes. Volume I. With a Prefatory Note by the Chief Rabbi. Pp. xxvi + 228. (Kegan Paul.) 1*s.* 6*d.* net.

Robinson, J. Armitage (Dean of Westminster).—*St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians. An Exposition.* Pp. viii + 192. (Macmillan.) 2*s.* 6*d.* net. The first part of the well-known *Commentary on Ephesians* reissued in a very convenient form without change.

THACKERAY, H. ST. J.—*A Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek according to the Septuagint.* Volume I. Introduction, Orthography and Accidence. Pp. xx + 326. (Cambridge University Press.) 8*s.* net.

TOFFTEEN, O. A.—*Researches in Assyrian and Babylonian Geography.* Part I. Pp. vi + 60. (University of Chicago Press.) 1 $03 post paid.

WALKER, D.—*The Letters of St. Paul to Corinth.* Pp. 114. (S.P.C.K.) 1*s.* 6*d.*

WORSLEY, F. W.—*The Fourth Gospel and the Synoptists.* Being a Contribution to the Study of the Johannine Problem. Pp. x + 184. (T. and T. Clark.) 3*s.* net.

WREDE, W. (the late).—*The Origin of the New Testament.* Translated by J. S. HILL. 'Library of Living Thought.' Pp. xii + 140. (Harper.) 2*s.* 6*d.* net.

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